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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

Monſ. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

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BOOK XIII.

THOUGH the taking of Fort St. Elmo had coſt the infidels one of their generals and the choiceſt of their troops, yet, nevertheleſs, great as their loſs was, that of the order, in the vigorous defence it made, was not leſs conſiderable in proportion. 'Tis computed that one hundred and thirty knights, and above one thouſand three hundred men loſt their lives in this particular ſiege; and the cruelties which the Turks had exerciſed at the concluſion of it, had thrown the reſt into a kind of conſternation. The grand maſter was ſenſibly afflicted at ſo great a

JOHN DE LA VALETTE.

loss, but very prudently dissembled his concern; and, in order to encourage some knights, whom he observed to be seized with a kind of terror, he summoned a general and extraordinary assembly of all such knights as could be spared from their posts, and who could attend without prejudice to the security of the place. When appearing among them with his usual constancy, and a magnanimity that was superior to all events, he began his discourse with a panegyric upon those knights who had been killed on this occasion, asserting, that as they had generously sacrificed their lives in defence of the faith, they had lived enough for their glory and their salvation. He went on in recommending their zeal and courage to the assembly, as a fit pattern for them to imitate; and in order to inspire them with recruited ardour, and animate them with greater confidence, he represented to them, that the knights whom they had lost, had not been so much overcome by the valour, as overwhelmed by the multitudes of infidels; but that now the number of their merciless enemies was considerably diminished; that their army was wasting away continually with the bloody flux, and other contagious distempers with which it was infected; that they began to be in want of ammunition and provisions, and that though they had sent to the coast of Africa, to Greece, and into the archipelago for fresh supplies, yet they had no news of the return of their ships; neither did the fort which they had taken give them any manner of advantage over the town and other fortresses which were situated at a distance from it; that all the forces of the order were shut up in these places; that succours might be thrown into them without any difficulty; and, in fine, that he hoped either to give the Turks battle, or to make them all lose their lives before the bastions and other fortifications.

This discourse, which he pronounced with an heroic assurance, the fire which sparkled in his eyes, and the idea they had of his valour and capacity, all these circumstances raised the spirits, and confirmed the confidence

ſidence of the aſſembly, and not a knight of them but proteſted ſolemnly, that he would fight to the laſt drop of his blood for the defence of the iſland, and the preſervation of the order.

'TWAS with a ſenſible pleaſure that the grand maſter perceived all his knights inſpired with the ſame ſentiments as himſelf; and, in order to animate the common ſoldiers with the ſame bravery, he viſited every poſt, when, addreſſing himſelf to them with a familiarity that was very engaging; "We are, ſays he, (my "brave comrades) the ſoldiers of the LORD JESUS as "well as you, and if you ſhould have the misfortune "to loſe us and all your officers, I am thoroughly "perſuaded, that you will ſtill fight on with the ſame "intrepidity and reſolution, and that your own cou-"rage will in that caſe ſupply the defect of orders." Therefore, to reinforce and raiſe the confidence of his troops, he drew four companies out of the *Notable city*, which was in leſs danger from the Turks, and brought them into the Town. He choſe, at the ſame time, four of the principal commanders, whom he made captains of reſerve, to be ready to run on all occaſions to ſuch places as ſhould be moſt in danger. Each of theſe commanders had ten knights, ſubject to his particular orders, who were to ſerve in quality of aids de camp; and he afterwards nominated three others to act as ſerjeant-majors of the place. Although he had got a prodigious quantity of proviſions, yet he took care of their being diſtributed with occonomy, and ordered all the corn and wine that was in private hands to be brought into the public magazines, paying the price thereof to the proprietors.

AFTER theſe regulations, ſo truly worthy of a great general, his next ſtep was to forbid the making of any priſoners for the future, giving expreſs orders, that, after having got out of them all the informations poſſible relating to the baſha's deſigns, they would put them all to the ſword, and not give them the leaſt quarter. The motive of this rigour was, not only to ſhew the Turks that they durſt revenge the cruelties which

they had exerciſed upon the knights of the fort, but likeways to put his own ſoldiers and the inhabitants, whatever extremes they might be reduced to, out of all hopes of capitulating, and to make them ſenſible, that their own preſervation and that of the place were inſeparable.

THE baſha, who knew nothing of this deſperate reſolution, and vainly flattered himſelf that the grand maſter and the knights, ſtartled at their late loſs, might hearken to a capitulation with pleaſure, ſent an officer with a white flag to the gate of the town. He had with him a Chriſtian ſlave, in quality of an interpreter, and had orders to try if the grand maſter was diſpoſed to enter into a negotiation; but he was refuſed admittance into the town. The ſlave however, who had ſerved thirty years on board the grand ſeignior's gallies, was admitted in, and brought to la Valette, whom he met in the great ſquare; but, at the firſt word he mentioned about capitulating, the grand maſter, without hearing a ſyllable more, ordered him to be immediately hanged. However, he privately told the knight, who was appointed to ſee his execution performed, that he ſhould only frighten him with it, and that when he had got from him all poſſible informations relating to the ſtate of the Turkiſh army, and the deſign of the baſha, he ſhould afterwards let him go.

THEY found that this ſlave was a poor fellow, ſeventy years old, whom they had releaſed from the gallies for the ſake only of ſending him upon ſo dangerous a commiſſion, and that he was entirely ignorant of the projects of the Turkiſh general. They offered to keep him with them in the town; but as he was perſuaded that the infidels would ſoon be maſters of it, when he was afraid he ſhould be treated as a deſerter, he choſe rather to return back to his ſlavery, than to have only a taſte, as he thought, of a precarious liberty, which, if he ſhould loſe a ſecond time, would be attended with the moſt dreadful torments; for which reaſons he deſired leave to be gone. The knight, who had

had orders to let him out of town, led him through ſeveral lines of ſoldiers, who had been commanded to appear there under arms; and when he had conducted him to the counterſcarp, he ſhewed him the bulwarks and baſtions of the place, when pointing particularly to the ditch, which was very deep, "See there, "ſays he to him, the only ſpot we can afford the ba-"ſha, and we reſerve it in order to bury him in it, "with all his janizaries."

THE baſha ſaw plainly, by the bold anſwer which he had given the ſlave, that there would be no reducing the iſland but by force of arms. He therefore ordered his troops to inveſt, on the land ſide, the caſtle of St. Angelo, the town, and the peninſula de la Sangle, which formerly went by the name of the town and caſtle of St. Michael, all ſituated upon two necks of land that run out into the great port, and which are divided from one another only by a channel, that ſerved for a port appropriated to the gallies of the order. The army of the infidels extended itſelf from the hill or rock of Coradin, and from Bormole, a kind of fort contiguous to the town of St. Michael, as far as mount St. Margaret, and the Belvedera, where the baſha had fixed his own quarters. They then began to open the trenches, and in ſuch places as they could not dig, by reaſon of the hardneſs of the rock, the baſha made them build walls of dry ſtone. He reſolved to batter at one and the ſame time the town and the peninſula on which the caſtle of St. Michael, then called the Iſle de la Sangle, ſtood; for which purpoſe the chriſtian ſlaves were employed in drawing ſeventy pieces of heavy cannon to the ſeveral places where he propoſed to erect his batteries, of which at laſt he had no leſs than nine.

WHILST the Turks were thus buſied in carrying on their works, Don John de Cardonna before mentioned, who commanded the four gallies which were ſent with ſuccours, appeared again near Malta, in order to endeavour to learn, purſuant to his inſtructions, if Fort St. Elmo ſtill held out. He had before made ſome at-

tempts to land his men; but the bad weather, or perhaps the fear with which he was ſeized, had rendered them ineffectual; but now he put colonel Robles, and the chevalier de Quiney aſhore, with a ſmall party for their guard. The colonel, out of complaiſance to the ſentiments of his general, had conſtantly maintained, in all the councils of war, that it would be impoſſible for them to take too much precaution about a landing, and was on that account highly in his confidence. They were no ſooner come aſhore, but they were informed by ſome poor inhabitants, who had hid themſelves in the holes of the neighbouring rocks, that the fort was loſt. This was enough to make him reimbark without more ado, but the chevalier de Quiney earneſtly diſſuading from it, and his own courage inſpiring him with a reſolution of contributing to the relief of Malta, he reſolved to conceal the truth from Don John, and to engage him to land immediately the troops that were on board his gallies. With this view, and for fear leſt his ſoldiers ſhould, at their return, acquaint Don John with the loſs of the fort, he ſent them to the *Notable city*, which was of eaſy acceſs, under pretence of bringing guides and horſes from thence, in order to conduct the ſuccours to the town; by the ſame expreſs he informed the governor, that he was going to land the troops in the road of Pietra Nigra, that he ſhould detain the ſoldiers who ſhould deliver him his letter, and ſend him other guides to lead the ſuccours to the town, with conveniencies to carry the baggage. After this he went on board again with Quiney, and both of them joined in telling the general an uſeful untruth, aſſuring him that the fort ſtill held out, but that they had been informed there was no hopes of ſaving it without immediate ſuccours; for which reaſon they had ſent the ſoldiers to the city, in order to bring them carriages from thence. Cardonna, ſtill unreſolved what to do, would fain have put off the landing a little longer, but the knights, and about forty gentlemen that were on board his galley, exclaimed ſo much againſt it, and the very ſoldiers diſcovered ſo much

much eagerneſs and zeal to be fighting with the infidels, that Don John out of fear of their reſentment, and of his being expoſed to the reproach of the world, by the complaints which they threatned to make againſt him, was forced to put them aſhore. Accordingly they landed in the creek of Pietra Nigra, and Cardonna had no ſooner diſcharged this part of his commiſſion, but he ſailed with his four gallies for Sicily.

THE difficulty was how to get this ſmall ſuccour into the town, the infidels having inveſted and blocked it up on the land ſide. The grand maſter having advice of their landing from Meſquita, had ſent them guides to conduct them through by-roads to the port or road Della Scala, with aſſurances that they would meet with boats ready to tranſport them ſafe over to the town. They ſet out immediately, and, taking the advantage of a great fog, they got ſafe to the port Della Scala, without being diſcovered; when getting on board, they croſſed the great port, and arrived at the town, where they were welcomed by the knights and ſoldiers, with all the expreſſions of joy that were due to their zeal, and anſwerable to the want they ſtood in of ſuch a reinforcement.

THE iſle de la Sangle, with the caſtle and town, which was the weakeſt part of it, and that againſt which the Turks employed their greateſt efforts, was the poſt which colonel Robles and the generality of the knights and ſecular gentlemen, earneſtly ſollicited the grand maſter to give them; who accordingly at their requeſts were ſent thither. They had planted ſeveral batteries at the hermitage, and on mount Sceberras, which played continually on the place, and another was raiſed upon mount Coradin, which lay ſo high, that it commanded it like a cavalier, ſo that they from thence, could eaſily ſee every thing that paſſed within. The baſhá, in order to ſtraiten it ſtill more, made an intrenchment before the Coradin rock, of a height ſufficient to cover thoſe who were poſted there. The beſieged were now ſhut up on all ſides, except towards the port and the ſea: the baſha therefore, in order to

cut

cut off this communication, which might be of service to them in introducing succours, and to invest the Christians on all sides, proposed, in a council of war, the attacking of the great Spur, on the point of the Peninsula. For the execution of this project, they were under an absolute necessity of bringing a considerable number of boats, well armed and provided with soldiers, into the great port; but they represented to him, that, besides the chain which went cross the mouth of the port, it would be impossible for those boats to make their way without their being exposed to the danger of being shattered to pieces and sunk by the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, which commanded and played upon all that part of the port: so that they would have given over the design, had not the Turkish admiral found out a way to bring the boats into the great port, without their passing under the castle of St. Angelo. As he was master of port Musset, which was divided from the great port only by the neck of land of mount Sceberras, on which the fort of St. Elmo stood, he undertook to make the Christian slaves, and the crew of his gallies, draw a sufficient number of boats cross this neck of land, by the strength of their arms, and to launch them in the great port; after which, they might put a body of soldiers and arquebusiers on board them, in order to attack the Spur on the side towards the mills, at the same time that the land army should attempt a storm on that side where the castle lay.

THE council highly applauded this expedient, the which, as the knights had been no ways apprehensive of it, might probably have occasioned the loss of those works, had it not been for a Turkish officer, a Christian, and a Greek by birth, who having been present at the council, and being touched with a sudden remorse of conscience, was resolved to get over to the island, and to run the hazard of his life in giving the governor notice of it. This officer was called Lascaris, of the illustrious house of that name, which had given several emperors to the east. The Turks, at the taking of Patras, a town of the Morea, had made him a slave,

a ſlave, at a time when he was ſo very young, that he was hardly ſenſible of the miſery of his condition. They brought him up in the Turkiſh religion, and out of ſome regard to his high extraction, great care was taken of his education. He ſerved in his early youth among the Spahi, and by his valour, had raiſed himſelf to the firſt poſts in that body of cavalry. His thoughts had perhaps hitherto been employed only in the making of his fortune, but the ſight of Malta, ready to ſink under the power of the infidels, revived in his memory the indelible character of a Chriſtian, which he had received at his baptiſm. The heroic valour, of which the knights daily gave ſuch diſtinguiſhed proofs, raiſed his compaſſion; and he could not forbear reproaching himſelf for fighting on the ſide of barbarians, who had put moſt of the princes of his family to death, and had forced the reſt, ſince the taking of Conſtantinople, to fly for refuge into foreign countries. Full of theſe different reflections, he goes down to the ſea ſide, to a place that lay directly oppoſite to the Spur of St. Michael, where waving his turbant, he made ſigns for them to ſend a boat to carry him over to the iſland. A knight named Savoguerre, who commanded at the point of the fort, ſeeing by the rich cloaths he had on, that he was a conſiderable officer, gave immediate advice of it to the grand maſter, and deſired leave to ſend a skiff for him, which was readily granted. But before the ſoldier, whom he had diſpatched to the town, could return, ſome Turks obſerving Laſcaris making his ſignals, and judging from thence that he intended to deſert, and go over to the Chriſtians, they ran to ſeize him. Though he ſcarce knew how to ſwim, he yet, to prevent his being taken, threw himſelf into the ſea; and of two inevitable dangers, he preferred that in which he might poſſibly be ſuccoured. Savoguerre, who had never taken his eyes off him, obſerving from the other ſide the difficulty he had to croſs over, immediately ſent off three Malteſe, who were excellent ſwimmers, who came up to him when his ſtrength was almoſt exhauſted, and by their aſſiſtance he got ſafe to ſhore.

ſhore. After they had made him throw up the water he had ſwallowed, they conducted him to the grand maſter, whom he acquainted with the baſha's and admiral's projects, and ſhewed, at the ſame time, the ſeveral places where they propoſed to erect their batteries. The grand maſter, who was thoroughly ſenſible of the great importance of theſe advices, extolled the generous reſolution he had taken to hazard his life for the ſafety of the Chriſtians, and therefore ſettled a large penſion on him; and Laſcaris, during the time the ſiege laſted, made it manifeſt, by his bravery and counſels, that he had no way degenerated from the virtue of his anceſtors.

THE grand maſter was at firſt ſtruck with the admiral's bold and difficult deſign; but afterwards recovering from his ſurpriſe, he ſet himſelf about defeating the ſucceſs of it. For this end, he fortified all thoſe places towards the port, where the Turks, by the help of their boats, might poſſibly make a deſcent. He likewiſe ordered the walls of the town of St. Michael to be raiſed higher, and lined the ſhore with ſeveral pieces of cannon, in order to clear the port of every enemy that ſhould appear. As their chief buſineſs was to hinder the Turks from advancing up to the walls of St. Michael, the grand maſter propoſed that affair to the council; but as their opinions were different, and that he was perſuaded that even men, though of the greateſt capacity, do not yet ſee into every thing, he did not diſdain to conſult two Malteſe pilots, whom he had ever found to be, not only men of great capacity and experience in naval affairs, but who had likewiſe diſcovered the greateſt zeal and fidelity for the order. He told them the deſign of Turkiſh admiral, and asked them what they thought was to be done, in order to defeat it, and hinder the embarkation of the troops, which they had drawn down to the ſhore of mount Sceberras in the iſle de la Sangle. Both the pilots agreed in opinion, and told him, that it would be proper to make a faccado with piles drove into the ſea, from the Coradin rock to the Spur, which was at the point

point of the iſle, and to fix iron rings to the top of theſe piles, and draw a long chain acroſs to ſtop up the ſpaces between them: and whereas it would not be poſſible to drive in the piles in ſome places, by reaſon of the depth of the water, or the hardneſs of the rocky bottom, it would be neceſſary for them, in that caſe, to ſtop up the paſſage with their longeſt ſail-yards and maſts nailed together, which, with the chain, would make it altogether impracticable.

THE grand maſter laying their propoſal before the council, it was unanimouſly approved of, and accordingly they ſet to work about it the night following. La Valette, who plainly perceived the great uſe of ſuch a ſtaccado, gave orders for the making of others, to hinder any landing on the ſide of the poſts of England, Germany, and the great infirmary. He likewiſe ſecured the poſt for the gallies with an iron chain, which was defended by ſeveral batteries on both ſides. As the Turkiſh artillery did not allow them to carry on [illegible] works in the day time, they could only work at [illegible] by night: but the grand maſter, knowing of what [illegible] ute they would be, employed ſo many hands [illegible] about them, that in nine nights time all theſe ſtaccado's [illegible]d defences were finiſhed.

THE baſha was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee ſo many works riſe up as it were on a ſudden out of the ſea, to oppoſe the paſſage of his boats and the deſcent of his troops; but as he was a man of true courage and great abilities, he would not give over his firſt project, and fancied he could find a way to carry off ſome of the piles of the ſtaccado, and by that means open a paſſage for his little fleet through the ſeveral gaps. For this end, ſome Turks, with axes at their girdles, ſwam, by his orders, to the palliſado, got upon the ſail-yards, and worked hard to cut them aſunder. This could not be done without a noiſe, which ſoon diſcovered their deſign; upon which they were immediately plied with cannon and muſket-ball, but as the firing was made from an higher ground, and directed downwards, it did no execution. The admiral de Monte, who commanded

manded in the island, seeing this had no effect, resolved to attack them in their own way, and for that purpose sent some Maltese soldiers, who were excellent swimmers, to them; these stripping themselves, and holding their swords in their teeth, came up with the Turks, beat them off the staccado, killed and wounded a good number of them, and pursued the rest, who made off as fast as possible, and got with great difficulty to the other side of the port. They returned however the next day, and before they were perceived had tied some cables to the masts and sail-yards, which had been laid for the security of the palliſado, and endeavoured to move and carry off the piles by the force of the capstanes of their ships, which were placed on the shore. But all the Maltese were excellent swimmers, so that they no sooner discovered this new kind of attack, but several Maltese, threw themselves into the water, and with their sabres cut all the cables, and baffled this second attempt of the basha.

AFTER these little attacks, which were of no very great consequence on either side, Mustapha, on the fifth of July began to fire from all his batteries together. That which was placed upon mount St. Margaret battered the quarter called la Bormole, and the bastion of Provence: but the officers of the artillery seeing it did little mischief, turned it against the fort of or castle St. Michael. The Turks had another upon the Coradin rock, which fired continually upon the bastion that lay over against them, and the cannon which they planted upon fort St. Elmo and mount Sceberras played upon the castle of St. Angelo. There were other batteries raised upon mount Salvator, that of Calcara, and on other eminences adjacent, which battered the great town, and the posts of Castile, Germany and England. That of Arragon was in a manner demolished already. All these batteries, and those of the Christians which answered them, made such a dreadful and continual fire, that the island seemed to be a volcano, and looked like another mount Etna. The Turks, under cover of their artillery, ran their trenches up to the ditch side, but being

being ſtopped by a ſmall redoubt that covered it, they battered that work with ſo much fury, that the knights finding themſelves unable to defend it any longer, blew it up, and retired within the iſland.

THE point of land on which the caſtle and town of St. Michael ſtood, had no manner of communication with the great town and the caſtle of St. Angelo, and could get no ſuccours from thence, but by means of a ferry-boat, which being heavy, and its motion very ſlow, expoſed all ſuch as croſſed over to the fire of the infidels. The grand maſter, by the advice of John Anthony Boſio, a young knight, and brother to the annaliſt of the order, cauſed a bridge of his invention to be made of pipes and hogſheads well pitched, which he afterwards covered over with planks. They placed it out of the reach of the fire of the enemies muskets, and as they run very nimbly upon it, they were not hurt by the fire of the artillery. This bridge proved afterwards very ſerviceable for the paſſage of thoſe ſuccours which they were obliged to ſend to fort St. Michael.

THE Turks knowing it to be the weakeſt part in the whole iſland, plied it hard with cannon-ſhot. Nor did their batteries make leſs execution upon the great town: conſiderable breaches were ſoon made in ſome places, but the baſha did not think fit to attempt a ſtorm till after he had entirely ruined all the out-works; beſides, he was deſirous of waiting for the arrival of Haſſan, viceroy of Algiers, who had ſent him word, that he would immediately advance with a good reinforcement, compoſed of the flower of all his forces.

THE grand maſter, ſurpriſed at his having no news of the viceroy of Sicily's armada, wrote in the ſtrongeſt terms on that ſubject to the commander Salvago, who reſided at his court, in order to haſten the ſuccours. He was an able miniſter, and could not be reproached with either want of zeal and aſſiduity, or of remiſſneſs in executing the ſeveral orders he received from the grand maſter. But he had to deal with a

proud and haughty Spaniard, with whom he thought himſelf obliged to obſerve certain meaſures for fear leſt he ſhould ruin the affair by being too earneſt in his ſollicitations, and by that means afford him the pretext he wanted, in order to excuſe himſelf from ſending the ſuccours he had promiſed. The grand maſter's letter, the loſs of fort St. Elmo, and the danger to which the iſle de la Sangle was expoſed, put him out of all patience; ſo that he went without farther ceremony to the viceroy, and complained, in the grand maſter's name, of his ſlowneſs in diſpatching the ſuccours; telling him moreover, that the baſha was laying cloſe ſiege to the great town and the caſtle of St. Michael at the ſame time, and that his troops were already advanced up to the walls. He added, in the utmoſt tranſports of zeal and grief, that Malta was on the point of being loſt, but that all the nations of the Chriſtian world would eternally reproach his memory, for having ſuffered the flower of all the gentry in Chriſtendom, to be cut to pieces by his affected delays; and finding that the viceroy anſwered him only in general and ambiguous terms, he flung out of the palace, and coming up to the people who were aſſembled in the great ſquare, he cried out, that Garſia was playing a double game, and that he, by his continual ſhifts and evaſions, was going to deliver up the grand maſter and his knights into the hands of the infidels.

THE complaints of the agent of Malta were indeed but too well founded; but after all, the viceroy was not in reality ſo much the author as the miniſter of theſe delays, he having received private orders not to be too forward; and indeed under a prince who was as imperious and ſecret in all his actions as Philip II. and who ſacrificed every thing to appearances, he would have been equally ruined, had he either been too haſty in ſending away the ſuccours, or had let the world ſee that it was not in his power to ſend them whenever he pleaſed. However, finding that Salvago's complaints made a great impreſſion upon the minds of the people, he ſaid, to ſave his own reputation, that he could

could not raſhly expoſe his maſter's fleet, that he would ask the advice of ſuch of his miniſters and principal officers as were in Italy; that he would afterwards call a great council of war, when all the neceſſary meaſures for ſending immediately a ſtrong body of troops to the relief of Malta ſhould be adjuſted. But this was far from being his real intention, much leſs that of the king his maſter, whoſe ſlow and uncertain policy put him always upon waiting for the benefit of time, which he often loſt. Philip and his miniſter contenting themſelves with a vain oſtentation of his forces, imagined that the bravery of the knights alone would be ſufficient to baffle the enterpriſe of the Turks, and that at moſt they had no more to do, than to have the ſuccours in a readineſs to be ſent off, in caſe they found that they were too cloſely attacked, and that there ſhould be a real neceſſity for them.

SUCH were the private views of the council of Spain. John Andrew Doria, who was not let into the ſecret, and was at this time with his gallies in the port of Meſſina, offered the viceroy to tranſport two thouſand men to Malta, till ſuch time as all the forces of the king of Spain could be got together. He ſhewed him the way he would take to carry them, and ſaid, that before the Turks could have weighed up their anchors, or have cut their cables, he, by the ſtrength of oars, ſhould be got into the great port as far as the caſtle of St. Angelo, and that, provided he could but land his troops and his crew, which would ſerve for ſoldiers and pioneers, he did not value if he afterwards loſt the hulks of his gallies.

THE viceroy at firſt applauded the generoſity of the propoſal, and came ſo far into the project, that he made Doria ſwear to put it immediately in execution; but whether it were from a ſecret jealouſy, for fear leſt all the honour of the enterpriſe ſhould accrue to him, or elſe that he was not willing to engage in it, till ſuch time as he had received freſh orders from Madrid, he ſent Doria with his gallies to Genoa and the coaſt of Tuſcany, on pretence of fetching from thence ſome neceſſaries for this particular expedition, and by this ſtratagem

cluded the opportunity of dividing his forces. However, as Salvago and a great number of knights, who were daily arriving from all parts of Christendom at Messina, in their passage to Malta, were continually soliciting for the succours, he ordered two gallies to be fitted out, the command of which he gave to Pompeio Colonna, with a good number of knights on board. But whether it were that the commodore had private orders to run no hazard, or that he had not the same zeal to succour the grand master as Doria had, he advanced only at a certain distance from the great port, when finding the entrance of it shut up and guarded by the Turkish fleet, he tacked about and came into the ports of Sicily, and at his return, reported to the viceroy, that he must absolutely have all his forces united in one body, otherwise it would be impossible for them ever to open a passage, or force the infidels to raise the siege.

HASSAN, viceroy of Algiers, arrived at the camp about this time with two thousand five hundred men, all of them old and resolute soldiers, and commonly called the bravo's of Algiers. When he saw fort St. Elmo, and considered its smallness, he could not forbear crying out, that had his soldiers been at the siege, it would not have held out so long. This young Turk was son to Barbarossa, and son-in-law to Dragut: proud of those celebrated names, and in hopes of making his own as illustrious, he desired the basha to entrust him with the attack of fort St. Michael, boasting that he would carry it sword in hand. Mustapha, who was an old general, and who would not have been sorry that this bold youth should learn, at his own expence, how dangerous it was to come within reach of the sword of the knights, answered him in a very obliging manner, That as he did not doubt of his success, he freely consented that the sultan should bestow upon him all the honour that so brave an action merited; and, in order to enable him to carry his point, and attack the isle both by sea and land, he gave him six thousand men, assuring him at the same time, that he would

would ſuſtain him on the land ſide at the head of all his troops.

HASSAN, with his Algerines, reſolved to attack the peninſula both by ſea and land; towards the continent, in that part where it joined to the main land, and towards the port on the other ſide. He left this laſt attack to Candeliſſa his lieutenant; he was a Greek renegado, and an old corſair, of a cruel and bloody diſpoſition, but an excellent ſeaman, having ſpent his whole life under Barbaroſſa, and commanded at this time the Algerines, who followed Haſſan to the ſiege, he having divided them between himſelf and his lieutenant on this occaſion. To prepare for this double attack, the Turks for ſeveral days together kept a continual fire with their artillery from ſeveral batteries. They had raiſed one of three cannons upon mount St. Elmo, which played upon the Spur or point of the iſland. There was another of thirteen cannons, and a double culverin planted upon the Corradin rock, which fired continually on the courtin of the caſtle of St. Michael. The front of the caſtle was battered by three cannons from a place called the Hermitage. They had raiſed on mount St. Margaret another battery of ſix cannons, which played upon the fortifications of the caſtle of St. Michael, and made great havock among the houſes within. One would have thought hitherto that the Turks were minded only to make war at a diſtance, and to carry it on with their artillery; but on the fifteenth of July, at day-break, the ſcene changed, and they came to a long and bloody engagement, in which the braveſt of both parties loſt their lives.

WHILST the Turks, through the ruins which their artillery had made, were endeavouring to force their way into the iſland, their ſlaves had drawn, by ſtrength of arms, a prodigious number of boats from port Muſſet, croſs mount Sceberras, and had launched them in the great port, and Candeliſſa had put part of the Algerine ſoldiers on board them, together with upwards of 2000 men, whom the baſha had given him for this enterpriſe. This little fleet, if we conſider the ſize of their veſſels,

being well armed, and numerous enough to cover the great port in a manner, set out from the coast of mount Sceberras, with drums beating, haut-boys, and other barbarous instruments playing, as they moved along. It was preceeded by a bark full of mahometan priests and dervises, some of whom were imploring the assistance of heaven with hymns and prayers, whilst others were reading out of books which they held in their hands, imprecations against the Christians. This ceremony soon gave way to arms of a more formidable nature, when the Turks advanced boldly to the staccado. Candelissa imagined he should be able to make his way through some part of it and break it; or, in case of disappointment, his design was to make his soldiers climb over the staccado, and, by the help of a great number of planks, one end of which was to be laid upon the top of the piles, and the other upon the shore, he thought to make a kind of a bridge to land his men. But he was mistaken in his conjectures, the shore being farther off than he imagined, and the planks proving too short; and when he attempted to break the chain, or cut the sail-yards, which fastened the piles that formed the staccado, the Turks were in a moment overwhelmed by the fire from the muskets: and the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, with all the batteries of the isle which looked towards the port, firing upon them at the same time, sunk a good number of their boats, and forced the rest to make off.

THEIR general however rallied them together, and observing that the staccado did not so entirely cover the point of the isle, but that it left a place where he might attempt to make a descent, he accordingly made towards it. 'Twas a kind of cape or promontory, on which they had made a strong entrenchment, that was lined by a good number of arquebusieres, and washed to the bottom by the water of the port. This point of land was defended by a battery of six cannons, (playing level with the water of the port) which the grand master had planted just below two wind-mills that stood upon the eminence. The commander de Guimeran,

meran, an old knight, of whom mention has been often made, and ever with honour, commanded at this poſt; he ſuffered the boats of the enemy to advance near the ſhore, but as ſoon as he ſaw them within reach, he gave them ſuch a fire, with his great and ſmall ſhot, that ſeveral of their boats were ſunk, and we are told that near 400 Turks were killed by this volley.

CANDELISSA, who had been brought up, as it were, in the midſt of fire, and inured to all the dangers of war, made to the ſhore, whilſt the Chriſtian cannoneers were charging their artillery again, and landed at the head of his Algerines. But he here met with new perils; for Guimeran, when he fired his cannons, had reſerved two loaden with cartridge ſhot, which he now poured in upon the Turks. Great numbers of them dropped, but their intrepid general, ſeeing part of his ſoldiers give way, and ſeveral of them making back to their boats, did all that lay in his power, by making uſe of intreaties and menaces: but, above all, endeavouring, by his own example and reſolution, to oblige them to ſtand their ground on the ſhore; and in order to cut off all hopes of retreating, commanded the boats to make off. This was telling his ſoldiers that they muſt either vanquiſh or die; and indeed it was manifeſted on this occaſion, that deſpair often puſhes us on to actions that are ſuperior to courage, or the ordinary ſtrength of nature. The Algerines, who were in the front of the attack, with a ſabre in one hand, and a ladder in the other, endeavoured to get upon the entrenchment. They all ſtrove who ſhould firſt ſeize upon ſo dangerous a poſt, and unanimouſly preſſed forward with a generous contempt of death. There was a dreadful ſlaughter made in the engagement, which was a very long one: the blood ran down in ſtreams to the foot of the intrenchment: but the Barbarians attacked it with ſo much fury and reſolution, that they, at laſt, after an engagement of about five hours, gained the top of the intrenchment, and planted ſeven enſigns upon it.

AT the ſight of theſe ſtandards, the knights, though reduced to a ſmall number, being aſhamed of their retreat, faced about upon the enemy with a noble indignation. Admiral Monti put himſelf at their head; and, after a freſh volley of ſmall ſhot on both ſides, they cloſed, and engaged one another with their half pikes, ſwords and daggers: fortune however ſeemed in ſuſpence on the ſide of the knights, of whom ſo great a number had been ſlain, and thoſe who ſurvived were ſo wearied and ſpent, that they had juſt reaſon to fear the worſt; when the grand maſter, whoſe vigilance extended to every ſcene of action, having notice of the extremity to which thoſe who defended the Spur of St. Michael were reduced, ſent the commander de Giou, general of the gallies, and the chevaliers de Quincy, and Ruiz de Medina, with a party to their aſſiſtance. This ſuccour was preceded by another of a very ſingular kind: a company of boys, near 200 in number, armed with ſlings, which they uſed with great dexterity, crying out ſuccour and victory, poured in ſhowers of ſtones upon the enemy. The commander de Giou, advancing immediately at the head of his men, with his pike in his hand, charged the infidels, tore down their ſtandards, drove them before him, and forced them to quit the rampart where they were going to make a lodgment. The knights purſued them cloſe with their drawn ſwords, and forced the greateſt part of them to throw themſelves headlong down: Candeliſſa, their commander, was one of the firſt that fled; and though he had ever hitherto diſcovered the utmoſt intrepidity and courage, it yet was damped before the engagement was ended. He had no ſooner loſt all hopes of vanquiſhing, but his intrepidity fled away at the ſame moment; and the fear of falling into the hands of the knights, who gave no quarter, obliged him to call back his boats, and he himſelf was the firſt that leaped in. His own ſoldiers, aſhamed of his precipitate flight, which diſhonoured their body, called him afterwards by no other name than that of the Greek traitor. They gave out that he was a renegado in a

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double ſenſe; and that he, after having renounced the Chriſtian religion, and embraced that of Mahomet, had not been willing to complete the advantage he had gained through the hopes of his meeting with a more favourable reception among the Chriſtians upon his return to them, which had been the reaſon of his delivering them up to the fury of the knights.

HOWEVER, the algerine bravo's, notwithſtanding their being deſerted by their leader, ſtill fought on as they retreated with great courage; but ſerjeant major Sada, the chevaliers Adorne, a Genoeſe, Paul Ferrier, of the language of France, and a Florentine gentleman named Corbinelli, incenſed at their obſtinate reſiſtance, ſallied out at a caſemate with a party of ſoldiers; ſurpriſed and charged the infidels ſo warmly, that after having killed great numbers of them, they forced the reſt to fly for their lives to the boats and ſhallops which were returned to take them in.

THE ſea was not much more favourable to them than the land, they being obliged to make their way through the fire of all the batteries that had annoyed them ſo much at their approach, and upon their landing, and which now ſunk ſeveral of them in their retreat. Even thoſe who had thrown themſelves on board, crowding in too great numbers, ſunk down to the bottom; ſuch as could not get boats embraced the knees of the victorious ſoldiers, and begged for quarter; but they received no other anſwer, than that they ſhould have St. Elme's pay; and accordingly were, by way of repriſal, all cut to pieces. There were others who, in order to avoid this kind of death, flung themſelves into the ſea, though they could not ſwim, and were either drowned, or killed with the fire from the muskets. The water of the port was in a little time covered with dead bodies, with heads, arms and mangled limbs. Scarce had there ever been ſeen a more hideous and dreadful ſpectacle; and of four thouſand men whom the general had put on board for this enterpriſe, there hardly eſcaped five hundred, and moſt of theſe were grievouſly wounded.

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THE order, not to reckon the private ſoldiers, loſt near an hundred perſons of diſtinction, who were either knights or ſecular gentlemen, and whom a zeal for the Chriſtian religion had brought to Malta. Among theſe they particularly regreted the loſs of brother Frederic de Toledo, ſon to the vicéroy of Sicily, a young knight, whom the grand maſter, out of regard to his father, who was vaſtly fond of him, had always kept near his perſon; but the young gentleman, hearing the diſtreſs that the knights who defended the Spur of St. Michael were in, ſtole away from him, and ran to that part which was moſt in danger, where he was killed by a cannon-ball. His death proved fatal to the chevalier de Savoguerre, who, being cloſe by him, was killed by a ſplinter of his cuiraſs. At the ſame time another ball killed the chevalier Simon de Souſa, a Portugueſe, and ſhot off the arm of the chevalier Gaſpard de Pontevez, of the language of Provence. The chevaliers Simiane de Gordes ſerjeant-major, Mello a Portugueſe, Roderic de Cardinez, and Brunefay de Quiney, who had brought the firſt ſuccours into the iſland, though wounded, would not yet quit their poſt. The grand maſter could not prevail upon them to retire into the infirmary; but they, getting themſelves dreſſed on the ſpot, ſtayed on the place where they had received their wounds.

NOR was leſs blood ſhed on both ſides at the viceroy of Algier's attack. This commander, after having ordered the ſignal for the aſſault to be given by a cannon-ball, advanced boldly at the head of his troops to the ſeveral breaches which the artillery had made on the ſide of the Bormole, and the caſtle of St. Michael. The Algerine troops, which he had kept with him, were in the front of the attack, and came forward with ſo much heat and reſolution, that they ſoon planted their enſigns along the parapets. Colonel Robles, a perſon of celebrated valour, and yet more ſo for his experience in war, commanded at that poſt: he, in order to ſtop the firſt impetuoſity of the infidels, ſaluted them with the fire of all his artillery, which they had

had purpoſely charged with cartridges; and the ſhot flying through the thickeſt of their battalions, made at firſt an horrible maſſacre, and whilſt they were putting freſh charges into the cannon, and the mortar pieces, a good number of Caſtilian and Portugueſe knights, who were poſted along the flank of the Bormole, diſcharged ſuch a terrible fire from their ſmall arms, that the Algerines, in ſpite of all their bravery and reſolution, were not able to withſtand the fury of it, ſo that their commander drew them off, and marching along the ſide of the parapet, led them to another breach, where, as ſome deſerters had informed him, he ſhould meet with leſs reſiſtance.

THE chevaliers Carlo-Rufo, and la Ricca, both captains of gallies, commanded at that poſt; who, in order to ſecure their ſoldiers from ſome batteries which the Turks had raiſed upon the adjoining hills, had hollowed and ſunk the earth on the inſide of the wall. But the courtin, by this digging away the ground, was made ſo high, that they were obliged, in order to defend the breach and ſtand an aſſault, to throw up immediately a kind of bridge or gallery; and by reaſon of the little time that was allowed for that purpoſe, the work was ſo ill performed, and withal ſo narrow, that ſeveral knights, and a great number of ſoldiers, were there deſtroyed by the fire-works which the Turks were continually throwing at them. The chevaliers Rufo and la Ricca expoſing themſelves in all places, were dangerouſly wounded, and quite diſabled. They were ſucceeded by admiral Monti, who commanded in chief. This officer immediately ſent for a reinforcement of a party of thoſe knights who had ſignalized themſelves in the defence of the ſpur, and had juſt before repulſed the infidels with ſo much vigour. A conſiderable number of theſe, and among the reſt Quincy, and the ſerjeant-major Simione de Gordes, notwithſtanding their being wounded, would needs ſhare in theſe new dangers: they ran to the breach at the head of a company of brave inhabitants; and, as if the firſt advantage which they had gained had been a certain

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earneſt of victory, their preſence ſoon changed the face of the combat. The few knights and ſoldiers who were left at this poſt, at the ſight of this reinforcement, were inſpired with freſh courage, and they all fought with ſo much intrepidity and reſolution, that the viceroy, unable to withſtand them any longer, was forced to order a retreat to be ſounded, having ſeen moſt of his Algerine bravo's drop by his ſide.

THE baſha, deſpairing to vanquiſh the knights any other way than by exhauſting and wearing them out, reſolved not to give them a moment's reſt; and therefore, after having engaged them for five hours together ſucceſſively, he renewed the aſſault, and, inſtead of the Algerines, ſent on the Janizaries, whom the grand ſeignior had given him for this expedition. Theſe ſoldiers, the main ſtrength of the Ottoman empire, advanced up to it with a bravery that is proof to every kind of danger. 'Twas againſt this formidable body that the Chriſtians, parched with heat and thirſt, and quite ſpent with fatigue, were forced to take up arms. However, they, as if they had been inſenſible to the cravings both of hunger and thirſt, and to the raging heat of the dog-days, and had been invulnerable, gave the enemy a freſh volley with their ſmall arms, came up with them, and attacked them ſword in hand. They now cloſe together, each man ſeizing his oppoſite adverſary, ſo that in the midſt of a general engagement, there were frequently as many private duels as there were combatants. The Janizaries diſcovered as much intrepidity as the knights, nor were leſs backward in braving dangers. The peril and fury of the troops were equal on both ſides; when a Turk, perceiving the ſlaughter the chevalier de Quiney made of his comrades, and not valuing what became of himſelf, provided he could but kill him, advanced up to him, and, firing his piece, ſhot him through the head, but he himſelf fell the ſame moment by the ſword of another knight. However, the death of this Janizary was but a poor ſatisfaction for the loſs the order ſuſtained by that of ſo brave a knight. The chevalier de Simiane

Simiane ſurvived him but a few moments; he had put himſelf at the head of a party of the inhabitants, compoſed of men, women, and children; and whilſt the latter were throwing ſtones, fire-works, and boiling oil upon the enemy, he charged them with ſo much fury, that the Turks, unable to ſtand it, quitted the breach, and took to their heels, in ſpight of all the cries and menaces of the baſha. Simiane, in order to prevent their officers from bringing them on to a freſh engagement, immediately ſet pioneers to work, who, in his preſence, and by his directions, laid wool-ſacks and gabions upon the breach, and dug cuts behind the firſt barricado, which they fortified with good intrenchments. But as he, regardleſs of his own ſafety, was employing himſelf in ſo urgent a work, and which was ſo neceſſary for the ſecurity of the place, his head was ſtruck off by a cannon-ball. Thus died a knight, who was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his language, on account of his birth, and ſtill more ſo by his bravery and skill in the art of war. Upwards of forty more, and about two hundred ſoldiers, loſt their lives in this laſt attack. As they fought with very little intermiſſion, and that numbers of them were daily killed and wounded, they were obliged to fill up their places with new officers; ſo that the commander Anthony du Fay, of the family of St. Romain, was made ſerjeant-major, and the poſt of Carlo-rufo and la Ricca, who were both mortally wounded, was given to the chevaliers John Antonio Grugno, and Julio Malviciano, who had both ſome skill in fortifications, and in the art of attacking and defending of fortreſſes.

THE baſha, whom neither the greatneſs of dangers, nor the difficulties he met with could diſhearten, ordered a bridge to be framed after the model of that which he had made at the ſiege of St. Elmo, compoſed of the ſail-yards and maſts of ſhips. The grand maſter, who foreſaw the conſequences of it, and the advantage it would be of to the Turks in ſtorming the place, attempted twice to ſet it on fire in the night: but his ſoldiers were repulſed both times, and the en-

terprise appeared so difficult, that they were convinced it would be impossible for them to succeed in it but in the day-time. The danger was evident from the great number of Janizaries, all of them excellent musketeers, who were posted on the counterscarp. The grand master, as a proof that his nearest relations were not dearer to him than the other knights, ordered Henry de la Valette, his brother's son, to make the attempt. The young knight, who was full of fire and spirit, in company with the chevalier de Polastron, his particular friend, sallied out at the head of a good number of soldiers, in broad day-light. As the bridge was not yet well fixed, he thought to break it down by tying strong ropes and cables to the posts and principal beams that supported it, and afterwards to draw them by main force out of their place, and so make the whole work fall to pieces. The soldiers at first set about it with resolution enough; but as they worked in a place which was exposed to the enemies fire, they were demolished in a moment by a storm of small shot, which killed abundance of them, and forced the rest to retire for shelter under the fortifications of the castle. Young Valette, and the chevalier de Polastron, were too brave to follow the example of their soldiers; and, not minding whether they followed them or not, endeavoured to supply what was defective on their part, and to fasten the ropes themselves to the props of the bridge. But they met with the same fate as their soldiers; for they were scarce got down to the foot of the bridge, when they were shot by two musket balls, that killed them on the spot. As the basha had offered a reward for every knight's head that should be brought him, some Janizaries advanced immediately to cut off those of la Valette and Polastron. But the Christian soldiers were in such concern at having deserted their officers, that they chose rather to lose their lives as they had done, than to return back into the town without at least bringing off their bodies along with them. This brought on an engagement between the two parties; and the dispute who should get possession of the dead

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bodies, was the occaſion that many loſt their lives on both ſides. But the Chriſtians, being either ſtronger, or more obſtinate in the engagement, gained their point at laſt, and retired back into the place with this ſorrowful advantage.

THE grand maſter bore the death of his nephew with great conſtancy of mind, and added this virtue to the ſhining qualities which he diſcovered during the whole courſe of the ſiege; and when ſome old knights were going to condole with him on his loſs; "All the "knights, ſays he to them, are alike dear to me; I "conſider them all as my children, and I am as ſenſi- "bly concerned at Polaſtron's death, as that of la Va- "lette: after all, they have only got the ſtart of us "for ſome days; and in caſe the Sicilian ſuccours do "not arrive, and that there is no poſſibility of ſaving "Malta, we muſt all die to a man, and be burried un- "der its ruins." Whereupon an old commander telling him, that he had been informed by a deſerter, that the baſha had ſwore, in caſe he ſhould take Malta, to put all the knights to the ſword, and reſerve only the grand maſter, in order to preſent him to the grand ſeignior: "I ſhall take care to prevent him, replied "la Valette; and if the ſiege, ſo contrary to my hopes, "ſhould end in ſo fatal a manner, I declare, ſays he, "before you all, addreſſing himſelf to the knights who "were about him, that I am reſolved, in that extre- "mity, rather than they ſhall ever ſee, whilſt I am "alive, a grand maſter carried in chains to Conſtan- "tinople, to dreſs my ſelf like a private ſoldier, and "ruſh into the midſt of the enemies battalions, there "to be killed, and there die with my children and "brethren."

SUCH were the ſentiments of this great man, ſo truly worthy of his dignity; and we may juſtly affirm, and indeed all the knights of that time agreed, that the main ſtrength of the iſland lay in the virtue, the courage, the reſolution, and foreſight of la Valette, and that the ſafety of Malta depended entirely upon his preſervation. However, he valued his own life leſs

than he did that of others; and after having been in perſon to reconnoitre the bridge, where his nephew had been killed, he ordered an hole to be made in the wall over againſt it, and on the ſame level, where he planted a piece of artillery, which fired with ſuch ſucceſs, that it ſoon ſhattered the bridge, and the night following they ſet fire to it, and burnt it to aſhes.

THE baſha, enraged at ſuch a reſiſtance, and fearing that the ill ſucceſs of the ſiege might draw upon him the ſultan's diſpleaſure, called an extraordinary council of war. He there firſt gave them an account of all he had hitherto tranſacted for the taking of the ſeveral fortreſſes of the iſland, and then repreſented to them, that the only reaſon of his attacking fort St. Michael, was, becauſe it ſeemed the weakeſt in the whole iſland, which, if he could once take, it would open him a way for the reducing of the great town and caſtle of St. Angelo; that however, he had not neglected to batter inceſſantly this laſt place, with his artillery from mount Salvator, and other adjacent poſts; and that the ſubject of their preſent meeting was to conſider whether they ſhould give over the attack of the iſle de la Saugle, in order to unite all their forces againſt the caſtle of St. Angelo; or whether it were not better, in order to divide and weaken the forces of the beſieged, to carry on the attack in different places at the ſame time.

THE council, after a mature conſideration of the reaſons on both ſides, agreed to the laſt propoſal; and it was accordingly reſolved, that the baſha, with the viceroy of Algiers, ſhould continue the attack of the iſle, whilſt admiral Piali, with his marines, ſhould lay ſiege to the great town and the caſtle of St. Angelo: and that, in order to prevent the viceroy of Sicily's throwing any ſuccours into theſe places, Candileſſa, Haſſan's lieutenant, ſhould guard the ſea with fourſcore gallies well armed.

THE baſha, purſuant to this ſcheme, renewed his batteries againſt the iſle de la Saugle; ſo that not only the walls and baſtions of the fort were demoliſhed, but

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the very houſes of the town, and the inſide of the caſtle were likeways very much damaged, and there was ſcarce a place in it but what bore ſome marks of the fury of the cannon. Admiral Piali, on his ſide, that he might not be out-done by Muſtapha, in his eagerneſs for puſhing forward his work, raiſed a new battery upon mount Salvator of twenty cannons, among which were three baſiliſes, or great cannons, and two mortars, ſome of which threw ſtone-bullets of three hundred pound weight, and others iron balls of ſixty, and ſome of fourſcore pounds. All theſe different batteries played inceſſantly upon the poſt of Caſtile, the flank of the poſt of Auvergne, and all other parts of the fortifications, as far as the infirmary.

HIS engineers directed their principal attack againſt the poſt of Caſtile, ſo that the trenches and other works were very far advanced on that ſide. They laboured at them night and day with indefatigable induſtry, not ſo much as reſting in the hotteſt part of the day; inſomuch that in a little time they ran them up to the walls of the place, and intrenched themſelves ſo well with the earth which they dug up, and the ſtones which were ſhot againſt the town, that the workmen were all under covert.

THE ſiege grew more and more bloody every day, and worſe to be dreaded for its conſequences; the infidels did not allow the beſieged a moment's reſt; one while they attacked a ſingle place, and anon they aſſaulted ſeveral together at the ſame time. The Chriſtians indeed repulſed them with vigour, and killed them abundance of men; but yet, conſidering the diſproportion of their forces, they might be ſaid to loſe more than the Turks, and their garriſons were daily weakened. The baſha, after having haraſſed them for four days together with continual ſkirmiſhes, and offers of attempting a ſcalado in ſeveral places, made, Auguſt the ſecond, a freſh aſſault on fort St. Michael. The infidels, in hopes of plunder, advanced up to the breach with great reſolution. The beſiegod ſuſtained the attack courageouſly, and repulſed the enemy; their

officers, during the ſix hours that the attack laſted, brought them on five ſeveral times to the aſſault; but they were always received with the ſame intrepidity. As their troops, and particularly the Janizaries, expoſed themſelves boldly, the knights made an horrible ſlaughter of them, and the baſha, fearing leſt all the reſt ſhould be cut to pieces, ordered a retreat to be ſounded.

FIVE days afterwards, which was the ſeventh of the ſame month, Muſtapha made another aſſault; and, in order to oblige the beſieged to divide their forces, ſent three thouſand men to attack the baſtion of Caſtile, whilſt he himſelf marched at the head of eight thouſand to ſtorm the fort of St. Michael. The only weapons that were chiefly fought with at the poſt of Caſtile, were arrows and ſmall arms: their deſign was to draw the principal forces of the order on that ſide; for which purpoſe the Turkiſh musketeers and archers advanced but ſlowly to the ſtorm. But their greateſt efforts, and the real attack was againſt fort St. Michael. The Janizaries, who were in the front, advanced boldly with great ſhouts, according to their uſual cuſtom; they were anſwered by a terrible fire from the place, which killed them abundance of men before they could come near the walls: but they, without being daunted at ſeeing nothing but death all around them, marched with intrepidity over the bodies of their comrades, and forced their way to the top of the breach, where both parties, as if they had been in the field, fought with equal fury for four hours together; the Turks were for keeping the poſts they had ſeized upon, and the Chriſtians exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to prevent their making a lodgement there. Among the latter, all, even to the very women, ſignalized themſelves againſt the infidels: and whilſt the peaſant and the citizen were defending their country, their wives and children fought with an intrepidity which equalled, in ſome meaſure, the reſolute bravery of the knights: and if paternal or conjugal love inſpired thoſe men with a courage and force, to which they had been

been hitherto inſenſible, there were not wanting heroic women, who ran to the aſſiſtance of their fathers, their brothers, and their husbands, and who generouſly expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers.

SOME of theſe brought ſtones, arrows, victuals and refreſhments to the combatants, whilſt others of a more dauntleſs ſpirit mixed in the fray, and threw fire-works, ſcalding water, and melted pitch upon the Turks: the fear they had of loſing their honour and their liberty, in caſe they ſhould fall into the hands of the infidels, inſpired theſe brave women with a contempt of all the horrors of impending death. The Turks, ſtill furious and eager for fighting, and enraged to ſee their courage oppoſed by ſuch feeble enemies, fell upon them without mercy, ſo that ſeveral of them died by their weapons, and the fire-works which they threw at them. The breach and the caſtle ſeemed all on fire, and the tumult of the combatants, the claſhing of their arms, the cries of the ſoldiers, the groans of the wounded, and of the perſons of both ſexes who were juſt expiring, and lay confounded together upon the ground, formed a ſpectacle that was as moving as it was dreadful.

THE baſha, who had poſted himſelf at the foot of the breach, ran with his ſabre in hand, on all ſides, exhorting, intreating and threatning his ſoldiers, and crying out, that if they would but exert themſelves a little more, they would certainly carry the place. He, with his own hand, killed two janizaries who had thrown themſelves down from the breach, in order to prevent their falling by the ſword of the knights. The reſt of his ſoldiers, terrified by this action, and ſeeing that the ſwords of their officers were as fatal as thoſe of their enemies, laid aſide all thoughts of putting an end to the engagement any otherwiſe than by cutting all the beſieged to pieces. Each ſingle janizary fought with as much eagerneſs, as if the victory had depended on himſelf only. In fine, after the aſſault had laſted upwards of four hours, and at a time when the grand maſter was in ſome pain about the ſucceſs of it; the

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baſha, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Chriſtians, as well as of the Turks, ordered a retreat to be ſounded. They were afterwards informed, that the commander Meſqueta, governor of the Notable-city, had been the occaſion of it.

MUSQUETA, who was an old officer, and a man whoſe vigilance extended it ſelf to all places, ſeeing, from the higheſt part of the city, that the caſtle of St. Michael looked as if all in a blaze, made no queſtion, but that the Turks were attempting a ſtorm, and that the beſieged were attacked with the utmoſt vigour; upon which he ordered a body of cavalry to march out of the place, each trooper carrying a foot-ſoldier behind him, in order to make a diverſion. The chevaliers de Lugny and Vertura commanded this detachment, who were ordered to go and diſcover how things ſtood at the fountain of la Marza, and moreover, to attempt to ſurpriſe and carry off the ſick and wounded ſoldiers, whom the baſha had lodged in that place, for the ſake of water, and the coolneſs of the place; but he had not given them a ſtrong enough guard. The chevalier de Lugny, leaving his infantry in ambuſh in a neighbouring village or hamlet, called Azabugi, in order to ſecure his retreat, advanced to the fountain, and, finding that the guards of the hoſpital were diſperſed up and down the neighbouring hills, the better to view the two aſſaults, he ordered his troopers to alight, who, falling upon the ſick and wounded, made a dreadful havock amon them. The ſurpriſe and confuſion that generally attend on ſuch unexpected attacks, the cries and groans of the dying, the flight of ſuch of the wounded as could eſcape the fury of the Chriſtians, all theſe circumſtances united, ſpread a general terror over the Turkiſh camp; the fugitives gave out it was the van of the Sicilian army, and of the Chriſtian ſuccours, which being landed near that place, were marching forward to raiſe the ſiege. This report ſoon came to the baſha's ears; and as in a general conſternation, reaſon often ſerves to no other purpoſe than to augment the terror and belief of the danger, Muſtapha, though

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an excellent officer, was impoſed upon by the current miſtake. This had been the occaſion of his commanding a retreat to be ſounded; when rallying his troops, he put himſelf at their head, and advanced towards the place where he expected to meet the enemy: but he found a general ſolitude in all places. For the chevalier de Lugny, after executing his general's orders, had judiciouſly withdrawn himſelf. The baſha, arriving at the fountain of laMarza, and being informed that this bold enterpriſe had been atchieved by a party of the garriſon of the city only, he fell into a violent paſſion; and that which particularly made his rage and ſhame ſtill greater was, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon ſo vaſtly, and had diſcontinued an aſſault at a time when he had reaſon to hope he ſhould ſucceed in it. Whereupon he was firmly reſolved to return to the breach, renew the attack, and either die upon it, or carry the place. But his principal officers repreſented to him, that night was coming on; that his troops were exceſſively fatigued with the heat and obſtinacy of the battle, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to allow them time to refreſh themſelves. Theſe reaſons prevailed upon him to return back to the camp, when they waited upon him to his tent, where he ſpent the night in forming new projects, in order to make himſelf maſter of the bulwark of Caſtile, and the fort of St. Michael.

THE baſha had not omitted one of thoſe various kinds of attacks, which the fatal ſcience of war had invented for the taking of fortreſſes; trenches, places of arms, redoubts, cavaliers, ſaps, mines, ſcaladoes, batteries upon batteries, planted in various places, and aſſaults renewed almoſt every day; in a word, every thing had been hitherto attempted, and generally baffled by the valour of the knights. Their preſence upon the breach, and their intrepidity, had ſupplied the places of the ſtrongeſt baſtions. The Turkiſh general, in order to conceal his deſign, and prevent their taking meaſures to oppoſe it, had again recourſe to mines: his pioneers and ſoldiers worked at them continually. The

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knights at the ſame time exerting themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to diſcover and countermine them, when they often met with the infidels, and came to an engagement with them in thoſe ſubterraneous paſſages. The great diſpute in theſe combats was, who ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the chamber of the mine, and it frequently happened that both parties were deſtroyed, either by the mine's taking fire, or by the falling and weight of the earth that was blown up into the air, and which fell back again upon the combatants. But the grand maſter and his officers could not diſcover all theſe mines; ſeveral eſcaped the obſervations and ſearch of the ableſt engineers: The Turks had run ſome by different channels under fort St. Michael, and the bulwark of Caſtile, both which places were entirely undermined.

THE grand maſter and his knights, being always in a manner between two fires, were not even ſafe on the ground they ſtood upon; and they had as much reaſon to dread the effects of the cannon as that of the mine, which ſpringing up at once, and without any previous notice, was equally formidable.

IN this dreadful ſtate of things, la Valette wrote to the viceroy of Sicily, to repreſent to him the great need he had of ſpeedy ſuccours, acquainting him that the fortifications of the iſland were intirely ruined; that he had loſt on different occaſions the flower of his knights who had ruſhed fearleſs into danger; that ſuch intrepid warriors were not long lived; that moſt of thoſe who ſurvived were ſhut up in the infirmary; that the enemy was ſtrongly intrenched before the walls; and that he conjured him, in conſideration of the great diſtreſs he was in, without either fortifications, troops, or ſuccours, to diſpatch away, at leaſt, the two gallies of the order, which lay in the port of Meſſina, with the knights who were come thither from the remoteſt countries; it not being juſt, as he obſerved at the concluſion of his letter, to be tender of a part, and of a particular limb, when the whole body is expoſed to an almoſt inevitable deſtruction.

GARSIA

GARSIA, though ever wavering and irreſolute, yet ſeeing it highly concerned both his maſter's honour as well as his own, to come to a final reſolution, propoſed the affair in council. John Andrew Doria, whoſe courage juſtly merited him the illuſtrious name of his great uncle, made him a propoſal of fitting out all the naval forces of his catholic majeſty, and of fighting the infidels at ſea. But the viceroy immediately declared, that he had no authority to venture a battle; nor were the reaſons ſtrong enough to engage him to hazard the royal navy: that in caſe the Turks ſhould happen to be victorious, the coaſts of all his catholic majeſty's dominions would by that means remain unguarded, and lie expoſed to the invaſions of the Turks; ſo that all that they had to conſider was, whether it was the the king's intereſt to ſend a part of his troops to Malta: and that, ſuppoſing they ſhould come to that reſolution, whether it would be practicable to carry over the ſuccours, and land them without danger, and without the knowledge or even in ſpite of all the oppoſition the infidels might make. There was no great difficulty as to the laſt article. The ſea officers, whoſe opinion was firſt asked, unanimouſly agreed and demonſtrated, that a body of troops might be eaſily landed in the iſland. But the land officers were divided in opinion, with regard to the ſecond queſtion, Alvarez de Sande, a famous captain, of whom mention has been already made, with reſpect to the ſiege which he ſuſtained in the iſle of Garbes, was intirely againſt the enterpriſe, and maintained ſtiffly, that the king of Spain was neither bound in juſtice, nor engaged by his own intereſt, to hazard his troops; that it was la Valette's buſineſs to conſider his own circumſtances, and the condition of his forces, before he carried matters to too great an extremity, and that he, in imitation of the grand maſter Villiers de Liſle Adam, one of his lateſt predeceſſors, might enter into a treaty with the enemy, and quit the iſland upon tolerable conditions.

SUCH as were acquainted with Sande's valour, and heard him deliver his opinion with ſo much weakneſs, could

could not poſſibly dive into the motives of it. Some aſcribed it to the fear he was under of falling again into the hands of the Turks, who had treated him cruelly during his captivity; others ſuſpected, that he did it only in order to make his court to the viceroy, and perhaps to Philip himſelf, who, as we have already obſerved, minded nothing but ſhew, and who, after having got together a numerous fleet, levied troops in all his territories, and filled all Europe with the noiſe and expectation of the ſuccour he pretended to ſend, would not perhaps have been diſpleaſed that a council of war, compoſed of the ableſt generals of the age, ſhould have thought it improper for him to hazard a part of his army.

BUT Aſcanio della Corna, who had gained a great reputation in the wars of Piedmont and Italy, maintained warmly, on the contrary, that they could not decline ſending ſuccours to the knights of Malta, without expoſing themſelves to an eternity of reproaches. He repreſented that they, ever ſince their eſtabliſhment at Malta, had always exerted themſelves with the utmoſt bravery in the defence of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; that whenever the infidels were to be engaged at ſea, or that a war was to be carried on in Africa, they had always joined the fleets and armies of his catholic majeſty, and had been ever forward to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers for his ſervice; that the buſineſs then in queſtion was the preſervation of an illuſtrious order, an order which, without any ambitious views, and without ever attempting to make one ſingle conqueſt for its own private advantage, was continually in arms, and daily ſacrificing its lives for the defence of the territories and ſubjects of all Chriſtian princes with the utmoſt impartiality. He then deſcended to particulars, and remonſtrated, that as the ſea officers had agreed that they might convey and afterwards land the ſuccours in the iſland without any danger, ſo thoſe who were to command on ſhore might, by poſting themſelves advantageouſly, and by the favour of the rocks, the hills, and paſſes, with which the iſland abound-

abounded, eaſily advance within ſight of the places beſieged; in which caſe the Turks, as they had not at that time above 15 or 16,000 men left, and all of them extremely harraſſed, would be obliged either to raiſe the ſiege, or be themſelves inveſted; that the infidels would be obliged to oppoſe the attacks of the Chriſtian army, and the ſallies of the knights, and that at one and the ſame time, and in the midſt of ſuch engagements, it would be an eaſy matter for them to throw ſuccours into the forts, and to change, or at leaſt reinforce the garriſons.

THIS advice, being more generous, was carried by a plurality of voices; the viceroy himſelf came into it, and, in order to apologize for his affected delays, he wrote immediately to the grand maſter, by which he informed him, that he had juſt received orders from Madrid which left him at liberty to follow the dictates of his zeal and inclination for the order; that he would be at Malta towards the latter end of the month with 12000 land forces; that Doria and Vitelli were to bring 4000 more from Italy, and that he would immediately ſend away the two gallies of the order, under the command of the chevaliers de Cornuſton, and St. Aubin, with upwards of 200 knights, beſides a great many gentlemen of different nations, who were come to Meſſina in order to ſignalize themſelves in the defence of Malta; that indeed, the king of Spain his maſter, had ordered him, as ſoon as he ſhould have landed the troops, to return back with the ſhips and gallies to Sicily; that notwithſtanding the earneſt deſire he had to diſtinguiſh himſelf at the head of his army, he was indiſpenſably obliged to obey; but that he, purſuant to his prince's intentions, would, before his ſetting out, leave expreſs orders with his general officers, to ſubmit to him as to their commander in chief.

HOW agreeable ſoever theſe poſitive aſſurances might be, the grand maſter, who depended only on his own forces, was ſtill as careful and vigilant as ever: he was continually viſiting the advanced poſts, was ever exhorting and encouraging the ſoldiers, and as he expoſ-

ed himſelf in places of the greateſt danger, he was frequently the firſt man who engaged the enemy.

THE knights, under the conduct of ſo heroic a general, were all of them continually fighting, or buſied in ſome labour; and if the hiſtorians of that time did not aſſure us of the fact, we could hardly think it probable, that ſuch an handful of warriors could have been able to hold out ſo long as they did, againſt ſuch a number of attacks as they ſuſtained, or bear up during ſuch a ſeries of watching, wounds, and fatigues. Nor did the Turks diſcover leſs bravery; and, above all, their generals could not ſo much as reflect upon the obſtinacy of their defence, without ſhame and vexation. Muſtapha and Piali, from a mutual emulation, attempted every thing that open force could do, and employed all the ſtratagems that the ſcience of war could ſuggeſt; and expoſed their own perſons to the greateſt dangers, as freely as they did thoſe of their ſoldiers, in the hopes they had, that he who ſhould firſt make himſelf maſter of the poſt he attacked, would be honoured by the Sultan with the merits of the whole enterpriſe.

THIS emulation inſpired the two generals with a reſolution of either dying in the breach, or carrying the forts which they attacked. In purſuance of which, they agreed to attempt a new ſtorm; to continue it, if neceſſary, for ſeveral days, and even nights together, and by that means weary out the knights, and vanquiſh them at leaſt by exhauſting their ſtrength, in caſe they could not triumph over their valour.

PURSUANT to this reſolution, they, on the 18th of the month, at noon, in the greateſt heat of the day, advanced at the head of their ſeveral bodies, imagining they ſhould find the knights aſleep, and retired under the ſhade and ſhelter of their intrenchments. The baſha commanded his ſoldiers to ſtorm the breach of St. Michael, and the Turkiſh admiral that of the baſtion of Caſtile. Both the attacks were made with great reſolution, but with various ſucceſs at firſt.

SOME hours before the attack began at fort St. Michael, the infidels had made ſuch a terrible fire upon it,

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that they did not leave ſo much as the leaſt piece of a wall, fortification, or even intrenchment, ſtanding. The baſha then ordered his men to attempt a ſtorm; and, as they were the very flower of his troops, were brave, and fought under the eye of their general, they performed wonders. The knights received them with an intrepid courage; and, though worn out with fatigue, and the greateſt part wounded, they never had before diſcovered ſo utter a contempt of danger. No ſooner did one drop, but another ſtepped up in his place; and, after an obſtinate engagement, which laſted for upwards of ſix hours together, they repulſed the enemy, more indeed by the greatneſs of their courage, than by the vigour of their ſtrength.

THE Turkiſh admiral's attack on the baſtion of Caſtile was equally dangerous and bloody. He had deferred attempting the ſtorm for ſome time, in hopes that the grand maſter, when he ſhould ſee that he made no motion, would detach ſome of the troops that were to oppoſe him, in order to ſuccour the fort of St. Michael, by which means he might make an advantage of their abſence; but not finding that any body ſtirred, he ſprung a mine in a place where it was leaſt ſuſpected, which threw down a pannel of the wall. As ſoon as it had done execution, the beſiegers, who were ready for the ſtorm, ſet up a great ſhout, mounted the breach in a trice; and the place had been certainly loſt, if the knights upon guard there, who were not prepared for their reception, had been ſuſceptible of fear. A chaplain of the order, brother William by name, ſeeing the Turkiſh ſtandards ſet up at the foot of the parapet, ran in a terrible fright to the grand maſter, and made him ſigns at a diſtance to retire immediately into the caſtle of St. Angelo. But the intrepid old man, clapping on a light head-piece, without ſtaying to put on his cuiraſs, advanced reſolutely with his half-pike in his hand to meet the infidels, when he, and the knights who were with him, gave them ſuch a furious onſet, that they could not ſtand it, and ſeeing the inhabitants running in crowds to the grand maſter's aſſiſtance, they

began to retire, but ſtill making a terrible fire from their ſmall arms all the time. Mendoſſa, who commanded at that poſt, ſeeing the grand maſter ſtanding by him, and fearing leaſt ſome ball ſhould take him off, begged him on his knees to retire, repreſenting to him that the ſafety of the iſland, the lives, the liberty and honour of the women and maidens, depended on his preſervation, and that if they ſhould loſe him all would be loſt. But the grand maſter pointing to the Turkiſh ſtandards, which were ſtill hoiſted and waving in the wind, told him, that he muſt firſt ſee thoſe trophies of the infidels demoliſhed; upon which all the knights who were about him ruſhed forwards immediately, when a new combat enſued, in which the braveſt men fell on both ſides: at laſt the ſtandards were tore down, and the infidels forced to retire in diſorder, covered with blood and wounds. The grand maſter made no queſtion but that their leaders would ſoon bring them on to the ſame attack, and therefore ordered quarters to be got ready for him there: the knights did not fail to repreſent to him, that he had made choice of a place which lay expoſed to the enemy's artillery; but as he was ſenſible of the importance of that poſt, and how neceſſary his preſence was to defend it, nothing could prevail upon him to remove from it. So after thanking the knights for the teſtimonies they gave him of their affection, "Will it be poſſible for me, ſays he to "them, at the age of ſeventy one, to end my life "more gloriouſly, than in fighting with my brethren "and my friends for the ſervice of God, and the de"fence of our holy religion?"

THE Turks, as the grand maſter had foreſeen, returned that very night to ſtorm both places: the attack was chiefly carried on with ſmall ſhot, and the beſieged on their ſide plied their enemies on all ſides with granadoes, flaming hoops, and fire-works, ſo that they fought almoſt by no other light, than that which was made by the fire of the artillery and ſmall arms. The Turkiſh ſoldiers at the foot of the breach, not knowing how to direct their own ſhot, or ſecure themſelves

ſelves from that of the Chriſtians, gave over the attack ſeveral times; but their officers ſtriking and cutting them with their canes and ſcimiters, forced them back as often. The ſoldiers who were as much incenſed at this treatment, as diſheartened by the reſiſtance of the knights, and being unable either to advance upon the works or retire, reſolved to impoſe upon their generals; when, as if they had been ſtill attacking the knights, they only ſtruck their ſwords upon their bucklers, and ſet up their ſhouts as uſual in battle. But the baſha perceiving at laſt, notwithſtanding the darkneſs, that all the cries and noiſe they made was a meer ſham, thought proper to defer the attack till day ſhould appear, and immediately ordered a retreat to be ſounded.

I CANNOT tell whether I may not have juſt reaſon to fear, that the reader will be tired with the repetitions of ſo many aſſaults, ſo little different from one another; but as both parties diſtinguiſhed themſelves in thoſe ſcenes by performing the moſt brave, and the moſt heroic actions, and as the knights particularly, though reduced to a ſmall number, ſuſtained for ſome months, both day and night, the continual attacks of a numberleſs multitude of enemies, who relieved one another by turns, but never allowed them a moment's reſt, I imagined that this detail might be of uſe, as it gives a more juſt idea of the intrepidity of the combatants; and that I was moreover obliged to it, in order that my narration might not be wanting in exactneſs.

BE that as it will, the baſha the day following, being Auguſt 19, gave the ſignal for an aſſault at both attacks, by a general diſcharge of his batteries. The Turks came on with freſh reſolution to that of St. Michael, hoping to make themſelves maſters at leaſt of the ravelin. What gave room to theſe hopes was a machine, being a kind of carcaſſe, but much larger, made in the ſhape of a long barrel, covered over with iron hoops, and filled with gun-powder, chains, nails, bullets, and all kind of iron inſtruments. The engineer, after having faſtened a match of a proper length to it, found means to throw it upon the ravelin,

where it fell among the knights who defended it. But they, no way daunted at this smoking machine, catched it up before it took fire, and threw it back upon the enemy, who were crowding to mount the breach: it burst a moment after, and, tearing every thing to pieces that came in its way, sent heads, legs, and arms, up into the air. The Turks, in a fright, immediately dispersed themselves; some fled as far as their trenches, when the Christian soldiers, animated with this dismal spectacle, and in order to make their advantage of the terror their enemies were in, fell in among them sword in hand, made a terrible havock, and forced the rest to retire.

PIALI's attack at the bastion of Castile was more dangerous, and lasted a considerable while longer. The infidels came on with an air of resolution, and in spite of the continual fire of the Christians, which killed them abundance of men, they forced their way to the top of the parapet, and fixed their standards upon it. At the shouts the Turks gave, who fancied they were masters of the place, la Valette, who was not far off, ran thither with pike in hand, and charged the enemy with the utmost fury. The infidels resisted them with the same intrepidity, when they fought together with their pieces at their adversaries breast. The commander of Bonneseigne lost his eye by a musket-ball, as he was fighting by the grand master's side; others fell by the sword and fire-works. The grand master, advancing too far in the danger not to have his share of it, was wounded dangerously in the leg by the splinter of a grenado. He generously disregarded it as long as the combat lasted, continuing still, by his speeches as well as example, to animate his men, and thereby prevailed upon the common soldiers to fight, and behave themselves like so many officers, and as men who were inspired with a true sense of glory. A zeal for religion had the like effect upon the minds of the peasants and townsmen, by making them slight all the horrors of surrounding death, and put all the combatants as it were upon a level. A considerable number

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of knights, braving the impending danger, met here with an honourable period to their lives. Cencio Caſconi, an old knight, who commanded at the Spur of St. Michael, informed of the danger to which the grand maſter was expoſed, ran to his ſuccour with a body of ſoldiers and inhabitants, and was the firſt who mounted on the parapet, together with the chevaliers Bergia, Mendoſſa, Don John, and de la Roche Pereyra. Pikes and ſwords were then the only weapons uſed; the Turks and Chriſtians often grappled together, and fought with a rage and fury as if every private man had been revenging an old quarrel, and gratifying a perſonal hatred. Both parties were continually ſending new reinforcements to the combatants, which made the battle laſt till night. In fine, the knights who fought in the grand maſter's preſence, made ſuch powerful efforts, that they recovered the parapet, and drove out the infidels.

MUSTAPHA, who neither allowed his enemies nor his own troops any interval of reſt, attempted another ſtorm the day following, which was the twentieth; not that, after ſo many repeated trials he expected to carry places, ſo well defended, at once; but as he knew the grand maſter's ſtrength lay principally in his knights, who were reduced to a ſmall number, his deſign in carrying on theſe continual attacks was to take ſome of them off every day, and by that means at laſt reduce theſe two places, as he had already done fort St. Elmo, for their want of men ſufficient to defend them.

HOWEVER, as he ſaw his ſoldiers began to be diſpirited by theſe perpetual attacks, in which he loſt abundance of men, he ſet himſelf to contrive a way to ſecure them from the ſmall ſhot of the knights, which made a dreadful havock among them. For this purpoſe he invented a kind of head-piece, made of thin wood, but proof againſt musket-ſhot, which reached down to their ſhoulders. He cauſed eight thouſand of his foot, to put on this new kind of armour, and advanced at their head to attack fort St. Michael: but when they

were

were to engage, his ſoldiers were ſo encumbered, ſo uneaſy, and ſo much weighed down with theſe wooden helmets, that they could neither attack the Chriſtians nor defend themſelves; ſo that they were forced to take off ſo troubleſome a load, and then, naked as it were, advanced boldly to attack the fort. They were led on by Cheder, ſangiac or governor of Boſſine, an old officer of good reputation in the army, who had promiſed the baſha either to carry the work, or die in the attempt. This old ſoldier, who was uſed on fighting-days to wear fine cloaths, the better to diſtinguiſh himſelf, was then dreſſed in a rich veſt, and advancing boldly up to the parapet, commanded the officer who carried his enſign, to hold it aloft; but the officer was ſoon killed, and the enſign thrown down. Upon this the ſangiac immediately ordered it to be taken up again; and though the poſt he was in was very much expoſed, and ſeveral Turks were killed ſucceſſively one after another in the attempt, he ſtill had it raiſed and hoiſted aloft in the ſight of the combatants during all the time the ſtorm laſted. In fine, the laſt who carried it, having met with the ſame fate as his comrades, he himſelf took it; and holding it in one hand, and his ſcimiter in the other, he fought, and obliged his ſoldiers to fight with wonderful reſolution. But his fine cloaths drawing all eyes upon him, and his valour, and the deadly blows which he dealt about, diſtinguiſhing him ſtill more, the chevalier Peſſoa, the grand maſter's page, killed him with a muſket-ball, when a Turkiſh officer immediately took his place, and encouraged the ſoldiers to revenge the death of their general.

THEY indeed maintained at firſt their poſt with reſolution enough; and ſo many ſingle combats were, as it were fought, between ſeveral officers of both parties about who ſhould get poſſeſſion of the ſangiac's body. The Turks at laſt carried it off; but they were ſo warmly purſued, that they were forced to take to their heels. In this rout, a knight threw himſelf on Cheder's enſign; but he who carried it, though mortally wounded, held it ſo faſt, that he was forced to break the ſtaff of it in his

his hands, and could only carry off the colours, which were torn to rags. Several knights of diſtinction were killed in this engagement. The commander John de la Cerda, aſhamed of the weakneſs he had diſcovered at the defence of fort St. Elmo, had, in order to repair his honour, been for ſome time paſt ſeeking death, as it were, in every poſt of danger. He at length met with it on this occaſion, and died bravely on the breach.

THE Turkiſh ſoldiers, beginning to deſpond after ſo many bloody ſtorms attempted in vain, the baſha found it neceſſary to allow them an interval of two or three days reſt. But on the 20th, a letter was thrown into the great town, which they took up and carried, ſealed as it was, to the grand maſter, who found nothing in it but this one word, *Thurſday*. He was not at a loſs to underſtand the meaning of it, and that it was to expect a freſh aſſault upon that day. He accordingly prepared for it, with his uſal courage and reſolution; and in order to prevent any ſurpriſe, and to ſound the diſpoſition of his men, he cauſed a falſe alarm to be given on Tueſday the one and twentieth. Every body ran readily to his poſt; and by this trial the grand maſter had abundant reaſon to be pleaſed with the vigilance of the officers, as well as with the alacrity of the ſoldiers. He only obſerved, that by the daily loſs they had ſuſtained of a good number of knights, ſome of them were wanted in certain poſts, in order to head and animate the ſoldiers.

THIS report reached the infirmary; all the wounded knights, who were able to ſtand upon their legs, bravely ſallied out, and, like thoſe of fort St. Elmo, choſe rather to face death, and meet it on the breach, than wait for its coming in their beds. The grand maſter, admiring their generous ſpirit, diſtributed them into the ſeveral places where they were moſt wanted: and, finding himſelf ſuſtained by warriors who ſeemed to have ſomething in them more than human, he waited with impatience for the return of the enemy.

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BUT he had not long to wait; for, purſuant to the notice which had been given him, they preſented themſelves on the twenty-third at both attacks: the baſha led on his troops in perſon to ſtorm fort St. Michael. This place, during the ſickneſs of admiral Monti, was defended by the marſhal Copier, the commander Giou general of the gallies, and by a conſiderable number of the principal commanders of the order. The Turks, animated by Muſtapha's preſence and example, fought with great courage; none of them boggled at danger, nor did they meet with a leſs vigorous reſiſtance from the beſieged. If the Turks, by making a bold ſtruggle, ever got an inch of ground, they were ſoon repulſed from it by the Chriſtians. Each party had its alternative of good and ill ſucceſs, without any one's being able to judge on what ſide the victory inclined: the baſha diſcovered, on this occaſion, all that the bravery and conduct of a great general could perform, in order to ſurmount the diſadvantages of his ſituation; but the knights, having an advantage in their poſt, made ſuch a terrible fire with their ſmall arms, from the top of the breach, and were ſo well ſeconded by all their artillery, that the Turks, after having loſt abundance of their men, loſt likeways their courage. Such as were fartheſt off the breach began to ſteal away from the danger; ſuch as were nearer and more expoſed took to their heels; nay, even their very officers gave back, and, in ſpight of all the baſha could either ſay or do, he could never bring them on to the ſtorm again, ſo that he was forced to command a retreat to be ſounded, in order to ſave the honour of his troops.

BUT the attack of the bulwark of Caſtile laſted longer, and was carried on with more vigour, and attended with greater danger: it was uſhered in with a furious fire from the Turkiſh batteries, which played upon the breach in order to drive the Chriſtians from thence; at the ſame time that a body of Janizaries, aſſiſted by a crowd of pioneers, were raiſing a kind of platform cloſe by the wall, and higher than the parapet: they here poſted a party of musketeers, who made ſuch a

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continual fire upon the beſieged, that no body could appear either on the breach, or along the parapet, but was immediately killed. The grand maſter, who was ever in the hotteſt part of the fire, and of the danger, ran to the place; his preſence inſpired the beſieged with freſh courage; nor was that of the beſiegers any way damped; and though the whole time was ſpent in firing at one another, the combat was nevertheleſs bloody. It laſted till night, and in ſpight of all the fire the grand maſter could poſſibly make from all his batteries, he yet was not able to ſilence that of the enemy, who flattered themſelves, as their cavalier commanded the breach, that they ſhould make themſelves maſters of it the next day.

THINGS being in this deplorable condition, the council of the order met to conſider what meaſures were proper to be taken: the town was undermined on all ſides, the fortifications ruined, the enemy in poſſeſſion of the out-works, and the breach in a manner blocked up by the cavalier, which was ſo cloſe to the wall that the infidels could leap from it into the place. Moſt of the great croſſes adviſed the grand maſter to abandon it; to blow up what fortifications were left, and to retire in time with their ammunition and proviſions into the caſtle of St. Angelo, which had as yet received no damage. They repreſented to him the danger they were in of the fortreſs's being carried the next time a ſtorm ſhould be attempted, in caſe they ſhould obſtinately reſolve to make a longer, and, at the ſame time, uſeleſs reſiſtance; that in the hurry and confuſion of a forced retreat, they would not probably have time to get to that fortreſs, the laſt that was left them; that the old men, and the women, would be in danger of falling a prey to the fury and brutality of the barbarians; whereas, on the contrary, if a ſtrong guard was but put upon the breach, they would have leiſure enough, whilſt the ſoldiers and inhabitants ſhould be retiring, to carry their ammunition and proviſions into the caſtle, and to take ſuch precautions as ſhould be neceſſary for its ſecurity and defence.

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THE grand master rejected this advice with as much horror and indignation, as if they had proposed the delivering up of the whole island to the infidels; upon which he shewed the council, that the great town, and the isle de la Sangle, which still held out, lay so near together, and that there was such a reciprocal and necessary communication between them, that there was no defending or abandoning the one without the other, so that the giving up the bulwark of Castile to the enemy would be to give up fort St. Michael at the same time; besides, that the castle of St. Angelo could never hold the soldiers, the inhabitants, and the great number of people who were to be taken out of those two places; that the cistern of the castle could not supply water enough for their drink, and that the bare want of a thing so absolutely necessary for the support of life would reduce them in a few days to the fatal necessity of either dying of thirst, or surrendering the place to the Turks. The lords of the council replied, that if there was a necessity of their holding out the town and the castle of St. Michael to the last extremity, they yet begged him to withdraw into the castle of St. Angelo, and carry thither the relics and ornaments of the churches, with the most important writings and papers of the treasury; and that they should be in no pain for themselves, provided his person were but in safety, after which they should face all the perils of a new storm with pleasure. The grand master, who was not to be shaken in what he once had resolved upon, and who foresaw that the carrying of the effects of the order into the castle of St. Angelo would give the soldiers room to imagine, that they were not thought safe enough in the town, rejected this second advice also, and, addressing himself to the whole assembly, "'Tis here, my dear brethren, said "he to them, that we must either die together, or "drive out our merciless enemies." And to shew the commanders who were about him, how far he was from retiring into the castle of St. Angelo, or making any provision for his own safety, he only left just a

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few ſoldiers in it ſufficient to manage the artillery, and drew out all the reſt, employing them with the garriſon during the whole night long, in making cuts and intrenchments within the place. He himſelf ſuperintended over theſe ſeveral works, with ſo much art and capacity, that though the Turks ſhould the next day have carried the firſt intrenchment, they would ſtill have found another behind it, and that too raiſed ſo high as to command them entirely; ſo that by diſputing every inch of ground with them in this manner, he ſaw himſelf in a condition to hold out till ſuch time as the viceroy of Sicily might have an opportunity of coming to his aſſiſtance.

HOWEVER, as the platform which the Turks had raiſed againſt the wall gave him a ſecret uneaſineſs, he communicated his thoughts to the commander de Claramont, of the language of Arragon, whoſe capacity he well knew, and, by his advice, cauſed a hole to be opened in the wall the night following, with as little noiſe as poſſible. The commander, attended by Francis Guevara du Pereira, and ſome other Spaniſh knights, ſallied out at the gap, ſtole ſoftly along the foot of the wall, till they got upon the platform, and then ſetting up a great ſhout, they attacked the guards that Piali had left there, who fancying the whole garriſon was falling upon them, fled away with precipitation. Claramont, inſtead of deſtroying this work, thought it adviſeable to fortify it: the grand maſter immediately ſent him a party of ſoldiers and pioneers, who ſoon raiſed a parapet upon it to cover their muſketeers. They likeways planted ſome pieces of cannon upon it, and the Turks were greatly ſurpriſed and confounded to ſee the knights employ a work againſt them, which they had raiſed in order to haſten the deſtruction of the Chriſtians.

THE ill ſucceſs they had met with at the attack of the poſt of Caſtile did not damp the ardor and eagerneſs of the baſha; perhaps it might have given him an ill-natured pleaſure, or, at leaſt, as he flattered himſelf with the hopes of taking fort St. Michael, he was not ſorry

to find that the admiral had not first opened the way to victory, in order to ingross all the honour of it to himself. In the beginning of September, he ordered a new storm to be attempted; the Janizaries, to whom he had promised the plunder of the place, ran like so many furies to the foot of the breach, nor could the shot of the artillery, the stones, the scalding water, or the fire-works which the besieged poured down upon them, prevent their getting to the top of it. They were already in possession of almost all the bastions of the fort; there was nothing left between them and the besieged but a wooden partition, and they were so close together, that their muskets crossed one another. The fight lasted for a long time with equal fury; but at last the insuperable bravery of the knights triumphed over the obstinacy of the Turks. They made them give ground before them, and threw them headlong down from the breach, in spite of all the basha could do, who now began to despair of reducing the place any other way than by famine, which he still hoped might oblige a body of men to submit to a capitulation, whom he could not vanquish by open force or stratagem.

BUT it was not long before he was informed, that he had more reason to dread a want of provisions than the knights: the commissaries of his stores acquainted him, that a ship, which had been sent to the isle of Gerbes for corn, was taken by the Sicilian gallies; that they had not meal to serve them for above twenty five days; and the officers of his artillery told him that their powder was almost spent. Under such unlucky disappointments, and particularly through the fear he was under, least the sultan should make his head pay for the ill success of the expedition, he resolved to make a last struggle on the *Notable city*: and though the taking of this place, which was situated in the middle of the country, was of no great consequence for the conquest of the island, he yet fancied, if he could but take it, and carry away all its inhabitants with him into slavery, as the surest testimonies of his victory, the noise

noiſe of ſuch an advantage, though not a very material one, would pacify the grand ſignior; who might likeways be well enough pleaſed, for the ſake of his own reputation, and for the glory of his arms, to have the people dazzled with ſuch an appearance.

WITH this view, on the laſt day of Auguſt, he ſet out from his camp with four thouſand men of his beſt troops, compoſed of Janizaries and Spahi. The place had been repreſented to him as poorly fortified, ſo that he was in hopes of taking it by ſcalado. But the ſtrength of places does not conſiſt ſo much in the bulwarks and baſtions with which they are ſurrounded, as in the valour of the troops, and the capacity of the governor who defends them. Meſquita, the brave Portugueſe knight, of whom mention has been already made, though he had but a weak garriſon, put on an air of boldneſs and reſolution upon the firſt approaches of the enemy. He ordered the courtine to be lined with cannons, muskets, pikes, ſtandards, and colours; and, in order to make the Turks believe that his garriſon was very numerous, he made the people of the city, and the inhabitants of the country, who had retired thither for refuge, to mount upon the walls with his ſoldiers: even the women themſelves, dreſſed in mens cloaths, mixed among the reſt, and appeared in arms upon the bulwarks and baſtions.

THE artillery now began to thunder on all ſides, and make a continual fire. The engineers, whom the baſha had ſent to reconnoitre the town, and the places where they might fix their ladders, were terrified at the ſight of theſe warlike preparations. Their fright made them perhaps fancy them to be greater and more formidable than they were in reality: accordingly they reported to the general, that there was no attempting to carry a fort by ſcalado, that was defended by ſuch a numerous garriſon, without expoſing the beſt troops he had left to be knocked on the head before his eyes; and that ſuch places were not to be taken but by a regular ſiege, and by attacking them in form. The baſha, who had neither forces nor time enough for ſuch

an enterprise, and being, moreover, afraid of being surprised by the succours which were daily expected from Sicily, returned to his camp in the utmost uneasiness, without knowing what measures to take, or on what side to turn his arms. His projects and stratagems were now quite exhausted: in this uncertainty he assembled all the engineers of his army, and pressed them to invent some machine that might be of service in a new assault, and bring this tedious and difficult enterprize to an end. The engineers replied, that they had already exhausted all the secrets of their art, and that the rest depended on the courage and bravery of his troops. However they, in order to satisfy him, framed a wooden tower, which was pushed along upon rollers up to the breach of fort St. Michael. This tower, like the old machines made use of in sieges before the invention of cannons, had several storeys. The highest, which over-looked the place, was filled with musketeers, who poured in their shot upon all that durst shew their heads; and to secure this last storey from being annoyed by the batteries of the castle, the infidels had no sooner fired a volley; but they, by means of certain wheels within the machine, and probably by the weight of the counterpoise, and the help of pullies, let down the top of the tower, which was then sheltered by the wall of the place, and rested against it. The Turks, by the help of this machine, killed abundance of men at first; but a Maltese carpenter, Andrew Cassar by name, a man who was very skilful in his business, after having examined the structure of the tower, caused a loop-hole to be made in the wall, directly opposite to this wooden castle, where he placed a culverin loaded with chain-shot; and the moment the Turks were hoisting up their machine, he fired his cannon upon it, which took it in the middle, and shattered it to pieces; so that the soldiers, who were in the highest storey, either broke their necks with the fall, or were bruised to death under its ruins.

THE basha, vexed to the soul to see all his enterprises miscarry, and uneasy at that which was forming against

againſt him at Meſſina, reſolved to fall to mining again. Accordingly he ſet his pioneers to work again, and had recourſe to this laſt reſource; not ſo much in hopes of ſucceſs, as to keep his troops from imagining that he himſelf deſponded, from his ſuffering them to continue in inactivity. But the knights, by opening pits and countermines in all ſuſpected places, defeated the meaſures of the infidels. They likeways, on their ſide, ran other mines under the poſts which the Turks had ſeized, and blew up a great number of them. The Chriſtians now ſtood no longer on the defenſive, but made ſeveral ſallies, in which all the advantage was on their ſide; ſo that they began to fancy they could force the Turks to raiſe the ſiege, without the aſſiſtance of the viceroy. The affected delays of that Spaniſh nobleman, had, for ſome time, made the grand maſter deſpair of receiving any ſuccours from him; and though his fleet was in a readineſs, and both the officers and ſoldiers, intended for the ſervice, expreſſed an extraordinary eagerneſs to ſignalize themſelves againſt the infidels, nevertheleſs, the viceroy could not prevail with himſelf to ſet ſail; and his irreſolution made it be very much doubted whether he would really embark, or wait for the news of ſome diſaſter which he might make uſe of as a handle to excuſe himſelf from ſetting out at all.

THE noiſe however of theſe preparations had brought above two hundred knights, commanders and great croſſes of different languages, to Meſſina, whoſe only view of coming thither was in hopes of meeting with ſhips to tranſport them to Malta. The viceroy's dilatorineſs put them out of all patience; the greateſt part of them never left his palace, ſo that they beſieged him as it were. There were even ſome of them, who, being bolder than the reſt, and finding intreaties could not avail, had recourſe to reproaches. The viceroy, who was naturally proud and haughty, complained about it, and was moreover offended, that the knights, when they ſpoke to him, did not give him the ſtile of Excellency. Lewis de Laſtic, grand prior of Auvergne,

ſaid to him bluntly on this occaſion, "Provided, Sir, "we do but arrive time enough at Malta to ſuccour "the order, I will give you, with all my ſoul, the "title of excellency, of highneſs, or if you, pleaſe, of "majeſty." The viceroy only ſmiled at what he ſaid; and hearing that that old knight was deſcended of a noble family, and had acquired great honour in France in the wars againſt the Proteſtants, he drew him aſide, and told him in private, that he, in conſideration of his quality and merit, would explain himſelf to him, and diſcover the moſt ſecret receſſes of his heart. He told him, that whatever pomp and outſide might be annexed to his dignity, yet his authority was not anſwerable to it; that it was not always in his power to follow the impulſe of his courage; and that he was the dependant of a prince, who, in order not to expoſe his own reputation, or bring himſelf into any difficulties, often left his miniſters to gueſs at his intentions; that ever ſince he had fancied, from ſome hints, that he would not be diſpleaſed that Malta ſhould be ſuccoured, his firſt deſign was to go with all his maſter's naval force to fight the Turkiſh admiral; but not having a ſufficient number of veſſels for that purpoſe, he had reſolved, in concert with the grand maſter, to throw a body of ten thouſand men at leaſt into the iſland; that he would lead this ſuccour in perſon; that the chevalier Vincent Anaſtagi, an excellent engineer, had furniſhed him with an exact plan of the iſland, and all the places proper for landing his troops; that the grand maſter had likeways ſent him all the ſignals and counter-ſignals which they were to make from the fortreſſes of the iſland, and the caſtle of Goza; and that he hoped to ſet out from Meſſina on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt at fartheſt. He kept his word, and arrived on the twenty-ſecond at Syracuſe, which was the general rendezvous of the whole army; when making a general review, it was found to conſiſt of near eight thouſand men, moſt of them old ſoldiers, and veteran bodies, that had ſerved in all the wars of Italy.

ALVAREZ

ALVAREZ de Sande commanded the regiment of Naples; Sancho de Londono that of Milan; Vincent Vitelli was at the head of a great body of volunteers of Italy and other nations; and Aſcanio della Corna was appointed major-general during their voyage. The viceroy kept the ſupreme command in his own hands, till ſuch time as the troops ſhould be landed: but after his departure the council of war, till they ſhould have joined the grand maſter, was to determine of all enterprizes by a plurality of voices, and the orders were to be given in the name of his catholic majeſty.

ON the firſt of September all the fleet hoiſted ſail, and ſet out under the diſcharge of all the artillery, and with the ſhouts of the whole army. The rendezvous was at the little iſle of Linoſa; they met with bad weather, which diſperſed their ſhips, and drove them out of their courſe, but when the ſtorm was over, the viceroy, in order to give them time to come up with him, as well as to refreſh the ſoldiers, after the fatigue of the ſea, put into Favignana, a little iſland near Trapini in Sicily. On the fourth, the fleet put to ſea again, and arrived at the little iſland of Linoſa, where the viceroy met with letters from the grand maſter, by which he acquainted him, that he might ſafely make a deſcent about Mugiaro, and the road of Melecca, where there was good anchoring. But the viceroy's motions gave them freſh reaſon to ſuſpect that he did not intend to make any uſe of this advice; for he, inſtead of entring the channel of Goza, ſailed along the ſouth coaſt of the iſle of Malta, and ſuffered himſelf to be diſcovered by the Turkiſh frigates that came out of Marza Siroc. One would have thought, that he did not ſo much want to land, as to find ſome oppoſition that might oblige him to tack about, and return into the ports of Sicily. The uſual accidents that happen at ſea furniſhed him with one to his mind; for there roſe in the night a ſtrong gale of wind mixed with rain, which blew with ſo much violence, that the van-guard, commanded by Cardona, was ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet. The weather proving calm in the morning, the viceroy diſ-

patched

patched some light frigates to learn whither the wind had driven him; but they, not meeting with any account of him, he tacked about a second time, and stood away for Sicily, doubled cape Passaro, and put in at Passal, where Cardona, who had been in quest of him to no purpose at Goza, came up and joined him; but he had first landed his troops. Every body then began to doubt of the succour, and they said publicly, that if it were possible to save Malta, nothing but the invincible valour of the knights could effect it. Such of them as were on board the fleet openly expressed their detestation of the viceroy's timorous prudence, and the excessive precaution he used; and to make the misfortune still greater, above one thousand five hundred soldiers deserted, so that the army was in a few days reduced to less than six thousand men. The viceroy, startled at so considerable a desertion, relapsed into his usual irresolution: upon which he called a council of war, where he again proposed to them whether or no it might be proper to attempt the relief of Malta: Whilst they were debating this question, a great noise of confused voices and cries was heard at the council-door, demanding that they should set sail immediately. The general officers, who, out of complaisance to the viceroy, had given their opinion in a doubtful and ambiguous manner, were well enough pleased to see the soldiers, who had no measures to keep, come and explain their real sentiments in a bolder manner. The viceroy, by the air of their countenace, and the silence they kept in the midst of a tumult, which their own soldiers had raised, easily penetrated into their real intentions. He stood out no longer. So that he might no longer resist the real sentiments and wishes of the council and the whole army, they reimbarked on the sixth, and arrived the same day in the afternoon within sight of Malta. All the fleet shouted for joy when they entered the streight or channel of Goza: but the viceroy, not willing to run the hazard of landing in the night, they, by his orders, came to an anchor, and ranged themselves near the little isles of Comino and Cominote.

The

The next day in the morning, being the ſeventh, the fleet put into the road of Melecca, and landed all the troops, arms, ammunition and proviſions deſigned for the reinforcement. The viceroy went aſhore to review them: and, as ſoon as he had ſeen them on their march towards the Notable city, he reimbarked according to his maſter's orders, and returned to Sicily. But he, before his departure, at his taking leave of the general officers, promiſed to bring them, by the thirteenth or fourteenth of the month, a reinforcement of four thouſand men more which he expected from Italy, and which, as he told them, were by that time landed at Meſſina. There arrived likewiſe, at the ſame time, ſeveral young French noblemen and gentlemen, who flocked thither, out of an eager deſire to ſignalize their courage againſt the infidels. Among theſe, ſays M. de Thou, they reckoned Philip, ſon to Peter Strozzi, a marſhal of France; Timoleon of Coſte Briſſac, ſon to another marſhal of France: Roger de Saint Larry of Bellegarde; Peter de Bourdeilles of Brantôme; Hardouin de Villiers, Lord la Riviere; and a few days before them, René le Voyer, viſcount Paulmi, and bailiff of Touraine, had landed in that iſland, in order to go to the ſuccour of an order, which, for three hundred years paſt, had reckoned ſeveral of his anceſtors in the number of its moſt illuſtrious knights. All theſe young noblemen were eager to embark with the new reinforcement which was expected from Italy.

MUSTAPHA and Piali, on the report of their ſpies, had always imagined, that the viceroy's view in aſſembling together all the ſhips and gallies that were in the ports of Sicily, was only to try the fate of a ſea engagement, in order to open himſelf a way for the landing of his ſuccours in the great port at the foot of the caſtle of St. Angelo. But the baſha, to defeat his deſign, had a few days before, barred up the entrance of it with a chain of ſail-yards, piles and boats: and ever ſince the Chriſtian fleet had firſt appeared off Linoſa, the Turkiſh admiral, with all his naval force, had lain continually at anchor

chor before the great port, in order to hinder the Chriſtians from entering it.

THE landing of the ſuccours in a quite contrary part of the iſland threw both the generals into a terrible conſternation: they were every moment afraid of being attacked by the principal forces of Chriſtendom; ſo that without informing themſelves, according to the rules of war, of the number of men that were in the reinforcement, they raiſed the ſiege in a hurry, drew their garriſon out of fort St. Elmo, left their heavy cannon behind, and embarked with a precipitation which differed very little from a downright flight. The baſha, was no ſooner abroad, but he grew aſhamed of having ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by ſo ſudden a terror. A ſlave, who had made his eſcape out of the great town, added greatly to his confuſion, by telling him, that the reinforcement which had made ſixteen thouſand men take to their heels, did not conſiſt of above ſix thouſand, and thoſe too harraſſed by the voyage, having no general at their head, and commanded only by officers who were independent from one another, and not well united among themſelves; and that it was believed, that were they to ſee the Turks in their firſt poſts, they would not dare to quit the rocks and paſſes in which they had intrenched themſelves. But the advice came too late, and the infidels, unleſs they had been minded to begin the ſiege a-new, could not depend upon their lines and intrenchments.

THE grand maſter no ſooner ſaw them gone off, and buſy in reimbarking, but he ordered their trenches to be filled up, and their works to be ruined. All the inhabitants, men, women and children, and even the knights, worked at it day and night with that joy and alacrity, which priſoners feel when they are allowed to knock off their fetters. The grand maſter at the ſame time ſent a garriſon into fort St. Elmo, and the Turks ſaw from on board their fleet the ſtandard of St. John again ſet up, to their infinite grief and confuſion.

THE

THE baſha, who was afraid his head would anſwer for this ill ſucceſs, and that the ſultan would reproach him with not having dared to look his enemies in the face, ſummoned a council of war, and a long debate enſued about the meaſures proper to be taken. The viceroy of Algiers was of opinion, that they ſhould land the troops again, and advance to attack the enemy. He repreſented to the baſha, that in caſe they were no more than ſix thouſand men, he might fight them with double that number; that if he ſhould get the better, which he might juſtly expect, his victory would prevent the ſecond reinforcement that the viceroy of Sicily was to bring, from entring the iſland; and that the knights, who were quite ſpent, as well as reduced to a ſmall number and in great want of ſoldiers, would be forced to capitulate. Piali, who was jealous of Muſtapha's credit, and was not ſorry that he had miſcarried in his enterpriſe, was of a different opinion, and ſaid, that after they had loſt the flower of the Ottoman army, it would be dangerous to expoſe what was left of their troops, and they diſpirited and haraſſed by a long ſiege, to an engagement of a freſh body of men, who were impatient of fighting. But the opinion of the viceroy of Algiers, in favour of which the baſha had declared, carried it by two votes; ſo that the landing was reſolved on; and the baſha, enraged at himſelf for having raiſed the ſiege in ſuch a hurry, and terribly afraid of the reception he ſhould meet with at the porte, in caſe he returned unſucceſsful, reſolved either to conquer, or die at the head of his troops, rather than to be put to death by the infamous hands of an executioner; upon which he immediately went aſhore himſelf; but he could hardly prevail with his ſoldiers to leave the ſhips. They all made heavy complaints at their being forced, after ſo tedious and bloody a ſiege, to return back again to the ſlaughter. They were obliged to be torn in a manner from on board, and their officers could not get them to go aſhore without uſing violence. The baſha marched with the beſt part of them towards the Notable city, where he

flattered

flattered himself he should meet the Christians. And, in order to secure his retreat on board his ships in case of ill success, he left the viceroy of Algiers, at the head of fifteen hundred men by the sea-side. Piali, who, ever since the knights had taken possession of for St. Elmo, could not continue any longer in port Muzet, in concert with these two generals, put in with his fleet into the road of St. Paul.

THE basha, after having thus settled matters, advanced in search of the reinforcement. Ascanio della Corna, who acted as major-general, had intrenched it on an hill, which was very difficult of access, by reason of the defiles or narrow passages that surrounded it.

THE grand master, ever attentive in observing all the motions of the infidels, sent advice to the Christian generals, that the Turks were advancing forward in order to fall upon them with all their forces; upon which they immediately called a council of war. Ascanio was of opinion, that they should wait the coming up of the enemy in their camp, representing, that it would be impossible for the Turks to attack a place in front which was so strong by its situation, without exposing themselves to all the fire of their artillery; that they were covered by the city on that side, and on the other, by a monastery that was fortified by nature, in which they had thrown a body of troops, and that the infidels must pass under all their fire before they could fall upon his camp; that as the enemy had brought no provisions nor equipages along with them, they could not possibly stay long in the plain, as they would be so much exposed to the excessive heat of the sun, and that after a few light skirmishes, they, without running any hazard, would force them to retire and embark on board their ships again.

BUT Alvarez de Sande, the most considerable officer in all the army, was of a contrary opinion, and, in all probability, had a mind, by giving a bold advice, and suitable to his courage, to wipe out the remembrance of that which he had given out of complaisance for the viceroy,

viceroy in the council held at Meſſina, where he had oppoſed the ſending of any ſuccour to Malta; and therefore now declared, that his opinion was, they ſhould draw the whole army out of the camp, and march down the hill to meet the enemy. "We are not advanced ſo forward, (replied he to Aſcanio) to run no hazard, and remain idle ſpectators of a new ſtorm, which the infidels, if they ſee they cannot force our intrenchments, will probably attempt upon the great town or the caſtle of St. Michael. We cannot tell how manfully the Turks may behave when urged by deſpair: and what a ſhame will it be for us to ſtand looking on, whilſt they are carrying thoſe places, which after all have no walls, nor any fortifications left, but the bodies only of the knights who defend them?

OF theſe two opinions propoſed in the council of the Chriſtians, the one was ſafe, and the other more daring, but at the ſame time more glorious for him who gave it. Moſt of the officers were for the latter; and the knights, who came in the Sicilian fleet, were particularly eager for their coming to an engagement. There were at leaſt two hundred knights and commanders; and there was hardly one of the latter but what had brought with him ſeveral volunteers who were either his friends or relations, and a pretty good number of ſoldiers; theſe, united, formed one of the ſtrongeſt battalions of the army; and they declared, that in caſe the troops did not quit their intrenchments, they were reſolved, though they were all to periſh to the laſt man, to break through the enemy's army, and throw themſelves into the places beſieged.

BUT they were not obliged to come to ſuch a ſad extremity; for de Saude carried it by a plurality of voices: upon which, he marched down into the plain, at the head of the battalion of the order, followed by all the troops, and by Aſcanio himſelf; who, after having proteſted againſt the ill conſequences that might happen from an enterpriſe which he termed raſh, was nevertheleſs reſolved to ſhare in the danger: with a pike

in his hand he mixed among the knights, fought in the first ranks, and manifested by his bravery, that those who are sometimes accused of too much circumspection in council, are not upon that account less valiant in action. The Christians fought with great courage and resolution. De Sande, at the head of the knights, made a furious charge upon the infidels, whilst Vitelli attacked them in the flank. The Turkish soldiers, who had been dragged against their wills to the engagement, either out of resentment against their general, or because they were quite spent with the heat, were so far from making any gallant efforts to obtain the victory, that they hardly so much as fought. The greatest part of them fired only one volley, and, finding themselves briskly attacked by the Christians, they broke, and shamefully took to their heels. The basha, seeing himself deserted by his men, was reduced, in spite of his courage, to the sad necessity of following the cowards, for fear of falling into the hands of the Christians. It is said, that he was so confused and perplexed at the defeat of his troops, that as he was making off, he fell twice from his horse, and would have certainly been taken, had not some officers ventured their lives or liberties to save him, by halting to give him time to remount on horseback.

THE Christians pursued the infidels briskly; their eagerness to pursue the enemy, made them insensible to the burning heat of the sun. The greatest part of the knights, who were heavy armed, threw off their cuirasses, in order to pursue the Turks the closer; and though most of the infidels they came up with were unable to make the least resistance, but lay extended on the ground, half dead with thirst and weariness, they nevertheless put them all to the sword. It was with infinite difficulty, and a considerable loss, that the Turks made a shift to get to the sea-side. Hitherto the Christians had found it more difficult to come up with their enemies than to fight them; but as the lightest and nimblest of them, flushed with their victory, and eager to pursue the run-aways, had broke their ranks, and

run

run up and down without any order, the viceroy of Algiers, who lay concealed behind the point of a rock, ſallied out of his ambuſh with his troops; and, ſeeing they were but few in number, fell upon them, killed ſeveral of them, and took the chevaliers Marc de Toledo, Peter de Yala, Ribatajada, and an Engliſh knight, whoſe name is not mentioned, priſoners. But happily Alvarez de Sande came up before the combat was ended, with ſome battalions, who charged the Algerines deſperately; and the reſt of the Chriſtian troops coming up one after another, they carried all before them, cut to pieces all ſuch as offered to reſiſt, reſcued the priſoners, and the Turks, whom fear had already vanquiſhed, left off fighting, and fled to their ſhips, which gave occaſion to a new kind of fighting.

ADMIRAL Piali, in order to favour the retreat of the Turks, did not only make uſe of the artillery of his gallies, but had lined the ſhore with ſhallops manned with his beſt musketeers, who made a continual fire upon the Chriſtians. But the knights and ſoldiers, in their eagerneſs to purſue their enemies, and vexation to ſee any of them eſcape, followed them into the ſea, in contempt of the fire and other dangers with which they were threatned; and ſome of them running up almoſt breaſt high into the water, killed the Turks with the ſhot from their ſmall arms, juſt as they were getting into their gallies. Hiſtorians tell us, that the Turks loſt in theſe ſeveral combats, and during the courſe of the ſiege, at leaſt thirty thouſand men. The admiral, after having taken on board the poor remains of this once formidable army, ſet ſail, and ſtood away for Sicily. The viceroy, ſeeing from the caſtle of * Syragoſſa the Turkiſh fleet paſs by, was informed without an expreſs of the happy ſucceſs of his reinforcement, and the raiſing of the ſiege.

THE grand ſeignior was prodigiouſly troubled when he received the news: he threw the letter he received

* It is the old Syracuſe, now called in the language of the country, Saragoſſa.

from Muſtapha on that ſubject upon the ground, and, ſtamping upon it, cried out, that his enterpriſes never ſucceeded but when he himſelf went in perſon, and that he would abſolutely go the next ſpring to Malta, when he would put all the knights and inhabitants to the ſword. However, that he might not leſſen the reputation of his arms, and in order to amuſe the people, who are ever fond of being deceived, he, inſtead of following the barbarous policy of his predeceſſors, who uſed to puniſh the ill ſucceſs of their generals as a crime, ordered it to be given out at Conſtantinople, that the baſha had reduced the iſland, and brought away the greateſt part of the knights and people as captives; but that as he had not thought proper to leave any of his troops in garriſon upon a rock, and in a little deſart iſland at ſuch a diſtance, he had blown up all the forts, and deſtroyed the houſes; and that in caſe any Chriſtian corſair ſhould be raſh enough to return thither again, they would always be a prey to his fleets, and lie expoſed to the mercy of every potentate who ſhould have fleets out at ſea.

HOWEVER exaggerated theſe reports might be, 'tis certain, that, after the ſiege was raiſed, the city, or what they called the great town of Malta, had leſs the air of a place which had been well defended, than of a city taken by ſtorm; and which had been demoliſhed, plundered, deſtroyed, and abandoned by the enemy. More than two hundred and ſixty knights had been killed in the ſeveral aſſaults: and 'tis computed, that eight thouſand men, either ſoldiers or inhabitants, periſhed in the ſiege: and when the Turks went off, there was ſcarce in the great town and the caſtle of St. Michael, including the knights, ſix hundred men able to bear arms, moſt of whom were covered with wounds.

THIS great loſs was aſcribed not only to the valour of the Turks, but alſo to the affected delays of the viceroy: his very name was had in deteſtation by all the knights, of the ſeveral nations of Chriſtendom: the grand maſter likewiſe complained of him afterwards to the

pope.

pope. His holineſs wrote to the like effect to the king of Spain; and though the viceroy in all this conduct, had only followed the private orders he had received from him, nevertheleſs, Philip, in order to prevent any room for ſuſpicion, condemned theſe delays publicly, and ſometime afterwards, removed the viceroy from Sicily: and, notwithſtanding his having received great ſervices from him, he nevertheleſs let him linger out the remainder of his days at Naples in obſcurity, without giving him the leaſt ſhare in the government.

WHILST the auxiliary ſoldiers, who had relieved the place, were retired near the Notable-city, in order to refreſh themſelves after the flight of the Turks, the principal officers and all the knights, who came with the reinforcement, went to the great town to pay their compliments to the grand maſter. They were welcomed by him, by the knights of the place, and by all the inhabitants, as their deliverers. The knights embraced one another with great affection and tenderneſs; but when they came to call to mind the loſs they had lately ſuſtained, by the death of the moſt illuſtrious and braveſt knights of the order, and conſidered the deplorable condition of the places which had been beſieged, the walls and fortifications in ruins; the artillery for the moſt part diſmounted; the houſes either demoliſhed or ready to fall; the magazines without powder, ammunition or proviſions; the inhabitants pale and ghaſtly; the knights and the grand maſter himſelf, with their beards and hair rough and neglected, and their cloaths dirty and in a ſlovenly condition, like men that had ſcarce been in bed for four months together, and ſeveral of thoſe brave knights ſtill wearing the honourable bandages which covered their wounds; this moving ſpectacle drew tears from their eyes, ſo much were they affected, either with the remembrance of paſt diſaſters, or with joy that Malta had been ſaved at laſt; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of the great events that had happened there; as the great town had been the principal ſcene of them, they gave it the name

of the Victorious City, which it ſtill retains to this day.

'TWAS there the grand maſter entertained the generals of the auxiliary troops, lodging them in thoſe places which had been leaſt damaged by the Turkiſh artillery: they were treated in an honourable manner, and with as much plenty as could be expected in a place that had but juſt ſuſtained a ſiege for four months together. The grand maſter's obliging behaviour, and the example of his frugality, made amends for what was wanting in the delicacy of their cheer; and when they came to take leave of him, he made them very handſome preſents, and diſtributed conſiderable ſums of money among their ſoldiers. The treaſury of the order was now quite drained, and la Valette reſerved nothing as it were, but the hopes of filling it again afterwards with the plunder of the infidels; it was indeed a pretty ſure fund, and had never failed them for ſeveral ages together.

THE news of the defeat of the Turks was ſoon ſpread over all Chriſtendom; it occaſioned an univerſal joy, and was celebrated with illuminations, bonefires, and public thankſgivings. The name of la Valette was renowned in all nations, eſpecially in Italy and Spain, whoſe inhabitants were obliged to the knights for the guard and protection of their maritime provinces. Pope Pius IV. and Philip king of Spain, who were the moſt intereſted in the preſervation of a place which was of ſuch ſervice to them, gave to its intrepid defender the moſt honourable teſtimonies of their eſteem and gratitude.

THE governor of Rome, by his holineſs's order, notified the raiſing of the ſiege of Malta to the Romans by the diſcharge of all his artillery, by bonefires and illuminations, which were made all over the city. The day was kept as a public feſtival; the magiſtrates did no buſineſs; the tradeſmen ſhut up their ſhops; in ſhort, there was no place open but the churches; into which the people flocked in crowds, in order to return God thanks for the happy ſucceſs. All the inhabitants of Spain and Italy, whoſe fortunes lay on the ſea-coaſt,

thought

thought themſelves, after raiſing of the ſiege, ſecure from the deſcents and incurſions of the corſairs.

BUT Pius IV. that his acknowledgments might not conſiſt meerly in empty praiſe, ſent the grand maſter word of his being reſolved to make him immediately a cardinal. But at the return of the expreſs, they were ſurpriſed to hear that he had excuſed himſelf from accepting a dignity, which had ever been conſidered as the teſtimony and reward of merit, ſometimes indeed the price of favour, but always the object of the ambition of the greateſt prelates, and ſought for as an honour by the ſons of kings. The reaſon which la Valette gave for his declining it was, that he was afraid of confounding the dignity of grand maſter and cardinal together; two great offices, which, he ſaid, required different functions, and which, inſtead of ſupporting, would, on the contrary, be ever interfering with one another. There were ſome, who, calling to mind that the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon had made no ſuch ſcruple, took occaſion, from la Valette's refuſing it, to commend him very much upon that account, and to aſcribe it to his great modeſty: others ſuſpected that there was as much policy as modeſty in his refuſal, and that the grand maſter, juſtly looking upon himſelf as a ſovereign prince, fancied he ſhould leſſen his dignity, was he to accept of one that was ſubordinate. But whatever were his motives, he deſired his holineſs to beſtow that honour upon one of his brothers, who was biſhop of Vabres; but the pope's death happening ſoon after, hindred the French prelate from reaping any benefit from the grand maſter's recommendation.

IN the firſt tranſports of joy, which the brave defence made by la Valette, and the raiſing of the ſiege, occaſioned over all Europe, and eſpecially in Italy, nothing could hardly have been refuſed to a man whom they looked upon as the hero of Chriſtendom. He received compliments from all quarters upon his ſucceſs. The king of Spain, who, as Malta ſecured his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, was particularly concerned in its preſervation, ſent him the commander Maldonat,

to present him in full council with a sword and dagger, the hilt of which was of massy gold, set with diamonds: and in a kind of harangue which he made on this occasion, he said, that the king his master, considering him as one of the greatest captains of the age, desired him to employ those arms for the defence of Christendom.

NOTWITHSTANDING the grand master received at the same time compliments of the like nature from most of the princes of Europe, yet these honourable deputations could not secure the fears he justly entertained of what might afterwards happen. The siege indeed was raised, and the enemy was retired, but then they were making new preparations in the port of Constantinople. All the news that came from the east brought repeated assurances that the grand signior, being enraged at the ill success of his arms under Mustapha's conduct, had declared that he himself would go in person the next spring, at the head of a formidable army, in order to fall upon Malta. And in what a condition had his troops, though they had not taken the places they had besieged, left the whole island? The country was destitute of inhabitants, the villages and hamlets were most of them burnt; the great town, where the convent resided, and the forts of St. Elmo and St. Michael were left without walls; their fortifications ruined; the artillery either dismounted or burst; the houses demolished, the cisterns without water, the magazines empty, no provisions for their support, nor money to buy any; few soldiers, and still fewer knights left in the forts. Malta, in this deplorable condition, appeared to him as much in danger as it had been during the siege.

THESE dismal reflections would not suffer him to take any rest; when communicating his sentiments to some old commanders, who sympathised with him in his uneasiness, they thought it advisable for them to abandon an island which they could never be able to defend, and transport the convent to Sicily. But la Valette, excited by the glory he had acquired in Malta, resolv-

reſolved to bury himſelf under its ruins rather than leave it; when, at laſt, the extremity to which he was reduced put him upon expedients which nothing but deſpair could juſtify, and which a great many generals would have ſcrupled to make uſe of.

THE grand ſignior could not come to Malta, without a ſtrong fleet ſuitable to his dignity, and ſufficient to tranſport the troops he intended to employ in that expedition. They were continually at work for that purpoſe in the arſenal of Conſtantinople, and a good number of gallies and galliots were already on the ſtocks. The grand maſter, knowing this armament was deſigned againſt him, found means to get the arſenal ſet on fire; the force of the powder blew up the magazines; moſt of the gallies, which were not yet finiſhed, were conſumed; and a great number of workmen periſhed in the flames. The author of this enterprize was not known for a long time; however, it anſwered his end, and the war of Malta was put off to another time. Solyman, not finding himſelf in a condition to fit out a fleet ſuitable to the enterpriſe, and ſuperior to that of the Chriſtians, turned his arms againſt Hungary, and ended his days at the ſiege of Sigeth. Selimus the ſecond, his ſon, afterwards declared war againſt the Venetians; and a certain hiſtorian ſays, it was only by way of repriſals for the burning of the arſenal of Conſtantinople, that he got the arſenal of Venice ſet on fire a little before his invaſion of Cyprus.

THE grand maſter, ſeeing that he had nothing to fear from Solyman, at leaſt for the enſuing campaign, reſolved to employ the time allowed him, in repairing the ſeveral fortifications the Turks had ruined; and, for the better ſecurity of both the ports, propoſed the building a new fortreſs in the Peninſula which ſeparates them from one another. We have juſt now obſerved, that of all the ſeveral places which had been fortified before the ſiege, there was none of them better ſituated than fort St. Elmo, eſpecially if it had been built more regularly. It was in a manner the key of

both ports. The grand master, without neglecting to take care of the other ports, formed a design of enlarging this, and of adding new works to it, and resolved likeways to build a town upon the same neck of land, to strengthen it with all the fortifications that art could possibly invent, and to make it the residence of the knights. His opinion was, that they would be much safer there than in the great town, which was commanded on all sides by the rocks and hills with which it was surrounded.

FOR the execution of this project, great supplies were necessary, which could only be expected from the principal sovereigns of Christendom. The grand master sent embassadors to the pope, to the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, and to several Italian potentates, to represent to them, that the late saving of Malta, by the gallant defence that was made, would be of little use, if care was not taken for its future security by immediately repairing the fortifications of those places which had been ruined by the artillery of the Turks. These ministers had likeways orders to acquaint them with la Valette's design of building a new city; to shew them the plan he had drawn of it; and to desire from them, at the same time, the supplies necessary for setting about such a considerable work. All these princes gave fresh applause to the grand master's zeal; and in order to assist him in the undertaking, the pope promised him 15,000 crowns; the king of France 140,000 livres, which were to be raised out of the tithes of his kingdom; Philip II. 90,000 livres; and the king of Portugal 30,000 crusadoes: besides which, most of the commanders of the order made very generous contributions out of their own private fortunes, and sold even their richest furniture and effects; the money arising from which they remitted to Malta.

THE grand master, encouraged by these supplies, sent for engineers and workmen from several parts of Italy. When the lines for the new city and fortifications were marked out, la Valette went in his robes,

attended

attended by the council, and all the knights, in great ceremony, to mount Sceberras, where he laid the firſt ſtone of the new city, upon which the order of council was engraved in Latin, almoſt in theſe words: "The moſt illuſtrious and moſt reverend lord, brother John de la Valette, grand maſter of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, both hoſpitaller and military, conſidering all the perils to which his knights and people of Malta were expoſed at the laſt ſiege by the infidels; and having, with the approbation of the council of the order, and for the better oppoſing any new enterpriſes from thoſe barbarians, reſolved to build a town upon mount Sceberras; the ſaid grand maſter has this day, being Thurſday the twenty-eighth of the month of March, of the preſent year 1566, (after having called upon the holy name of God, and beſought the interceſſion of the holy virgin his mother, and of St. John Baptiſt, titulary patron of the order, to obtain the bleſſing of heaven upon this important work) laid the firſt ſtone of it, with his arms, which are a lion d'or in a field gules engraved upon it; and the new town, by his order, has been named the city of la Valette."

To perpetuate to the moſt diſtant poſterity the memory of ſo remarkable an event, they threw on the foundation a great quantity of gold and ſilver medals, on which the new city was repreſented, with this inſcription, MELITA RENASCENS, Malta ſpringing up again, and in the exerge, they put the day and year of its foundation.

As ſoon as the ceremony was over, the work began again, and was carried on with the utmoſt application; every one in his way, and without any diſtinction of the richeſt citizen from the pooreſt inhabitant, employed himſelf with that pleaſure and eagerneſs, with which a work is followed when the common ſafety depends wholly upon it. The commander de la Fontaine, a perſon much eſteemed for his skill in fortification, had the principal direction, and a kind of ſuperintendency over all the works. Every knight contributed to it

according as he was qualified. Some went with the gallies of the order, to fetch materials from different ports of Sicily and Italy; others went no farther than Meſſina and Syracuſe, whilſt others again paſſed as far as Lyons to have the artillery new caſt. Several worked at the head of a great number of pioneers in filling up the trenches, or clearing the breaches of the rubbiſh of the wall which the cannon had beat down; and others took care to get ſtones carried for repairing the old fortifications, or building new ones.

IN this military republic, every one was in action, every one at work; the grand maſter in particular, for near two years together, never left the workmen he employed in the new city: he ſpent whole days among them, and eat his meals in the midſt of the carpenters and maſons, as if he had been one of their number; and ſo intent was he upon forwarding the work, that that he frequently gave his audiences and orders there.

IN this multitude and variety of buſineſs, which he had upon his hands, nothing gave him greater uneaſineſs than the want of money for paying the workmen; the receivers of the order, in the provinces beyond ſea, not being always ſo regular as they ſhould be in remitting it. The grand maſter, to ſupply this defect, coined ſome braſs money, which he made of different value, according to the ſize of the pieces. On one ſide there were two hands joined together, and on the other the arms of la Valette, quartered with thoſe of the order, and for the legend theſe latin words, NON ÆS, SED FIDES: "Do not regard ſo much "the metal, as the inviolable promiſe given you to "take it again." And in fact, as ſoon as ever they had money, they did not fail to call in theſe pieces; and by this exactneſs, their credit was ſo well eſtabliſhed among the people, that the work was not once diſcontinued, or even ſlackned.

IN the midſt of theſe cares, ſo worthy of a prince and an illuſtrious warrior, there aroſe ſome troubles which diſturbed the tranquillity of the government: for ſome young Spaniſh knights, fancying any liberties might be allowed

allowed in the midſt of the rejoicings, which the defeat of the Turks occaſioned, conſumed their time in feaſting and drinking, which they often intermixed with ſatyrical ſongs; and wherein, under a pretence of being witty, and of throwing out their jeſts, they attacked the reputation of the braveſt knights, and the honour of the principal ladies of Malta. Theſe ſongs were ſoon made public, and complaint was made about them to the grand maſter, who, as he was a ſtrict obſerver of exact diſcipline, conceived a very juſt indignation at the hearing of theſe irregularities, and accordingly directed the council, and principal officers of the order, to examine into them. The authors of theſe defamatory libels were diſcovered, and a proſecution was carried on againſt them. Whilſt they were going on with it in full council, theſe young libertines, forgetting the reſpect they owed to the grand maſter, who preſided there in perſon, broke into the chamber, ſnatched the pen out of the vice-chancellor's hand, with which he was writing the ſentence pronounced againſt the criminals, and threw his inkhorn out of the window. This being done, the mutineers flung out of the room, and, by the help of their ſecret accomplices and friends, got to the ſea-ſide, where they went on board ſome light feluccas, and made their eſcape to Sicily. The grand maſter, incenſed at ſuch an unprecedented inſurrection, degraded them from the order, and condemned them, in caſe of their being taken, to perpetual impriſonment. He diſpatched, at the ſame time, the chevalier Caprona to the viceroy of Sicily to demand them as rebels and deſerters. But whatever real or pretended orders the viceroy might have iſſued out, they either could not or would not find them. Theſe knights however did not ſtay any time in Sicily; for, as they knew the grand maſter's firm and inflexible temper, they thought it beſt to retire into their reſpective countries. They flattered themſelves, that as la Valette was very old, he might have a ſucceſſor who ſhould be leſs ſevere, and perhaps have leſs credit; that time would at leaſt be of advan-

tage to them, as it would wear off the firſt impreſſions. and thereby leſſen the greatneſs of their offence.

AN affair of ſo vexatious a nature, and which, at the ſame time, was ſo dangerous a precedent, was ſcarce over, when another happened that gave the grand maſter freſh uneaſineſs. One Bonaccurſi, a Florentine, who was ſettled at Malta, had there married a young lady of exquiſite beauty, and the grand maſter's god-daughter. She was originally of the iſle of Rhodes, deſcended of thoſe noble Rhodians who came away with l'Iſle-Adam, and followed the fortune of the order.

THE Florentine, tranſported with rage and jealouſy, ſtabbed his wife; and notwithſtanding all the endeavours the grand maſter uſed to have him ſeized, his countrymen, whether knights or others, found means, in order to ſave him from the puniſhment of the law, to ſhip him off to Italy; a country, where murders, occaſioned by jealouſy, are often connived at than puniſhed. The grand maſter, in the midſt of all the glory with which he was ſurrounded, was full of the higheſt reſentments at the inſults with which private men dared to wound his ſovereign authority. As he was inviolaby attached to the obſervance of the laws, was a true judge of merit, and a ſevere avenger of guilt, he neither ſuffered virtue to paſs without a recompence, nor faults without chaſtiſement. Theſe great qualities made him equally dreaded and reſpected; and it was never known, during his adminiſtration, that either credit or favour had any weight with him; or that he was ever liberal or munificent but to thoſe who juſtly merited it.

THIS laudable ſteadineſs however embroiled him with the pope, and occaſioned a new ſubject of diſcontent, which did not a little contribute to the ſhortning of ſo illuſtrious a life. Some cardinals, thirſting after the great eſtates which the order poſſeſſed in the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom, and particularly in Rome and Italy, had inſinuated to ſeveral popes, that the diſpoſal of the firſt dignities of this military order belonged

ed to them, as the firſt ſuperiors of the whole body. Upon this pretence, the popes had frequently conferred the grand priory of Rome upon cardinals their nephews, and exerted the plenitude of the power of the keys, in granting diſpenſations to qualify them to poſſeſs that military dignity. Upon this principle, the priory of Rome had paſſed ſucceſſively through the hands of ſeveral perſons of the ſacred college.

LA VALETTE could not bear to ſee this miſapplication of the eſtates of the order, without uſing his utmoſt endeavours to redreſs it. He had no views, no paſſion, but what terminated in the glory and intereſt of his order, which indeed may be ſaid to be thoſe of Chriſtendom; ſo that he could not forbear writing about it to his holineſs in very preſſing terms. The pope, ſince the raiſing of the ſiege of Malta, had ſent him ſeveral briefs, which were full of pompous declarations of his eſteem, and the deep ſenſe he had of his ſervices. The grand maſter anſwered him, that all the recompence he deſired was, that he would leave to his order the diſpoſal of the grand priory of Rome. Pius V. finding his requeſt as diſintereſted with reſpect to himſelf, as it was juſt with regard to his knights, aſſured him, by a particular brief, that he, whenever it ſhould fall vacant, would not diſturb the order in the enjoyment of its rights. Nevertheleſs, cardinal Bernardini Salviati, who was then grand prior of Rome, dying, Pius V. made no ſcruple to confer that rich dignity upon cardinal Alexandrino his nephew, without ſo much as ſubjecting him, as the other cardinal grand priors had been obliged, to pay the uſual reſponſions and quit-rents into the common treaſury of the order.

THE grand maſter was ſenſibly concerned at this breach of promiſe, eſpecially in a pope who was ſtill holier, by the purity of his morals, and his eminent piety, than by his dignity, though it be the firſt of the Chriſtian world. He immediately wrote to him on that ſubject in very warm terms; and the chevalier de Cambian, his embaſſador, delivered his letter, in which he repreſented to him, that if the cardinals of every na-

tion ſhould ſeize on the moſt conſiderable eſtates of the order, they would be left without any fund to enable them, purſuant to the intentions of their founders, to defend the Chriſtian ſhips and coaſts, and to carry on the war againſt the infidels. The holy father was touched with the force of theſe reaſons, and ſeemed diſpoſed to reſtore the priory to the order: but as the terms of the grand maſter's letter were not guarded enough, and that the embaſſador had, of his own head, been ſo imprudent as to diſperſe copies of it, the pope, offended at this breach of reſpect, ordered Cambian not to come into his preſence. This gave the grand maſter freſh uneaſineſs, which, added to the vexation the young knights had given him, threw him into a deep melancholy.

LA VALETTE, in order to divert it, got on horſeback a few days afterwards, and, being attended with his hunting equipage, went to a plain near the lee-ſhore of St. Paul, to amuſe himſelf with hawking. But that day, which was July the 19th, proving exceſſive hot, he was ſtruck with a coup de ſoleil, which forced him to leave his ſport, and occaſioned a violent fever. A few days after, his illneſs not allowing him to apply himſelf ſo much as was neceſſary to the affairs of government, he empowered his lords of council to take them into their hands. His diſtemper laſted near three weeks longer, and grew daily more and more dangerous; when, at length, finding his ſtrength decay, and his end drawing near, he prepared himſelf for it like a good Chriſtian, and a true religious. He received all the ſacraments with great fervor and piety; and as he had renounced all property, by the vow he made of poverty at his admiſſion into the order, that he might die in the ſame ſentiments, he would not offer to make over any of his effects without the permiſſion of the council, and therefore deſired their leave to diſpoſe of fifty ſlaves that belonged to him, and likeways the ſum of 12,000 livres. Part of this money he employed in endowing a chappel which he had built in the new city, where he

deſired

deſired to be buried, and the reſt he gave away in legacies to his ſervants.

HE afterwards ſent for the lords of the council, and the principal commanders and knights, who were then at Malta, and exhorted them, in the moſt moving language, to maintain peace and unity among themſelves, and to be exact in diſcharging their vow of obedience to the grand maſter, who ſhould be choſen to ſucceed him. We are told that he recommended to their choice brother Anthony de Toledo, grand prior of Caſtile, as a man who was moſt capable of ſupporting the dignity of the order. He declared that he forgave the knights who had offended him, and deſired the lords of the council to re-admit the young knights, whom he had degraded of the habit, in caſe they thought it could be done without prejudice to their rules and inſtitutions. Then addreſſing himſelf particularly to his nephews, he told them, that the practice of all the virtues of their condition would be the only path that would lead them to thoſe dignities and that reſpect which ambitious men endeavour ſo eagerly to gain by cabals and the intereſt of the great. He then took leave of them all, and would not hear of any thing but what related to his ſalvation. A little after he felt the approaches of death. This warrior, who, during his whole life-time, and in the midſt of the greateſt dangers, had faced death with ſo much intrepidity, was at that inſtant ſeized with a religious terror: they heard him call ſeveral times on his good angel for his aſſiſtance; but theſe clouds were ſoon blown over, and he ſurmounted the horrors of this laſt combat with an entire confidence of GOD's mercy: his mind was calmed, and the ſerenity of it appeared in his countenance, when, at laſt, calling devoutly on the holy name of JESUS and MARY, he ended an illuſtrious life by a peaceable and Chriſtian death, upon the 21ſt of Auguſt 1568. His body was laid in the church of St. Laurence, in the chapel of St. Mary de Philermo, till ſuch time as it could be removed into that of St.

Mary of Victory, which he had ordered to be built in the new city of la Valette, where he had desired to be buried; and it was accordingly carried thither after the election of his successor.

THE convent met the next day to proceed to the election. Had the intentions of the last grand master been followed, don Antonio de Toledo, of the same family with the famous duke of Alva, would have been chosen his successor. He was a knight of singular valour, an excellent general; was generous, liberal, and, what was still more considerable, had a soul informed with the highest sentiments of piety and religion, and was particularly strict in the observance of the rules and statutes of the order; but, with all these shining qualities, a little too fond of his high birth. This turn of mind, which it is even dangerous to discover in a republic composed of nobility and gentry; a certain air of haughtiness which he affected; the very recommendation of la Valette, which, because of the strictness of his administration, was disagreeable to several knights; all these circumstances gave them reason to apprehend that Toledo would resemble him as much in his steadiness as he did in his valour, which, for that reason, turned all the votes of the assembly another way. There were several candidates, all of them great crosses, of the first and most ancient knights of the order.

ST. CLEMENT aspired to this dignity: he was a Spanish knight, pilier of the language of Arragon; his age, his long residence in the convent, his modesty, and his having past through most of the dignities of the order, might have naturally led him to the first; but his excessive avarice, and his sordid niggardliness in house-keeping, which the knights of his inn had been sensible of to their cost, made him so odious and insupportable, that they would not so much as hear of his pretensions.

THERE were at that time in Malta two great crosses, the one a Frenchman, called la Motte, the other a Spaniard, whose name was Maldonat, both of them intimate

intimate friends: they had often been out a cruising together; were both men of courage, and from a similitude of tempers and inclinations, had made as it were a kind of partnership of the glory and profit which accrued to them from their captures. These two commanders, even in la Valette's life time, seeing him advanced in years, and worn out with the fatigues of war, formed a project for making the grand mastership fall, after his death, to some great cross, who should be chiefly obliged to them for it. With this view they, from that time, made it their business to gain friends and creatures, and to make themselves the heads of a party who should have a great sway in the election. La Motte, who was polite, insinuating, and good-natured, found no difficulty in gaining over a great many friends. Maldonat was not possessed of these qualities, and was naturally proud and haughty: but then he supplied these defects by the frankness of his temper, the sums he generously spent, his liberality, and the good offices which he did those knights who had served under him, and in the gallies which he commanded. The day of the election being fixed, they went the evening before to the commander de Rivalle's: this gentleman was of the illustrious house of Ursini, was at that time great admiral of the order, at the head of the language of Italy, and had moreover a great number of creatures and partisans. Rivalle, imagining he should infallibly be elected, received them in his bed, and, upon their offering him their own votes, and those of their friends, he answered them only with a pretended moderation, and with an air that was cold enough. Upon which the two commanders went out of his apartment, disgusted at the mysterious air he affected, and affronted at his having received them in bed. Maldonat, who was naturally hot and proud, could not forbear saying, that he should be very much surprised, if a man who had kept his bed so late on the eve of the election, should be chose grand master the next day.

THE two commanders gave their friends an account of the haughty reception they had met with from the admiral;

admiral; upon which they agreed to give their votes for ſome other perſon. Maldonat endeavoured at this meeting to gain over the votes of the company for himſelf; but the knights, knowing his imperious temper, did not think him a fit man to preſide over perſons of quality, who had been brought up in a ſpirit of liberty. They gave him however ſome hopes, but that only in general terms, and he ſoon perceived that his moſt intimate friends would fail him on this occaſion: la Motte likewiſe adviſed him to deſiſt from an attempt that could not poſſibly ſucceed, whereupon they agreed together to declare in favour of the chevalier de Monte, grand prior of Capua, who was one of the candidates for the election, and had a conſiderable party in his intereſt. They, in their reſentment againſt Rivalle, had pitched upon Monte, in hopes, that, as they were all of the language of Italy, they might for that reaſon draw off a good number of the votes of that language from Rivalle. Accordingly the two friends went to his houſe. This gentleman had paſſed through all the employments and dignities of the order; had been general of the gallies, admiral, governor of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and of the peninſula de la Sangle, where he had acquired no ſmall ſhare of glory in the laſt ſiege. La Motte and Maldonat met with him in his hall, ſurrounded with a great number of knights. They, in like manner, as they had done to Rivalle, offered him their own votes, and thoſe of their friends. Monte, knowing the credit and intereſt they would have in the election, was more politic on this occaſion than Rivalle had been: he gave them a moſt obliging reception, and aſſured them of his higheſt acknowledgements.

THE whole convent met the next day in the church of the priory of St. John, when all the languages went into their reſpective chapels, in order to proceed to the choice of two electors for each language. La Motte was one of the number, and was choſen knight of the election. He had the dexterity to get the greateſt part of the co-electors to be choſen from among ſuch of his friends

friends as he could moſt rely on. The preſident gave each of them a ballot, or voting-ball: but as there were ſixteen electors, la Motte, as knight of the election, had two ballots, to prevent an equality of votes. After the oaths and ceremonies uſually performed in theſe caſes, the electors, by a plurality of voices, choſe brother PETER DE MONTE for grand maſter. His name was Guidalotti; but as he was great nephew by the mother's ſide to pope Julius III, of the family of Monte. he, for that reaſon had aſſumed that name, which his valour, and the brave defence he had made at the ſiege of Malta againſt the continual aſſaults, which the Turks had made both by ſea and land upon the peninſula de la Sangle, had ſufficiently illuſtrated. The firſt care of the new grand maſter was to pay the funeral honours to his predeceſſor: his body had been depoſited, as was before obſerved, in the church of our lady of Philermo by the grand maſter's order; it was put on board the admiral galley, wich was without any equipage or maſt, and was towed by two other gallies, both of them armed, hung with black cloth, and carrying ſeveral enſigns and banners, which he had taken from the Turks and other infidels, all of them trailing in the water. Theſe were followed by two other gallies, which had belonged to the late grand maſter, covered with black cloth, and other funeral ornaments, having the grand maſter elect, the lords of the council, the commanders, and principal knights on board. This funeral proceſſion went out of the great port in this ſolemn and mournful manner, and entered into that of Muſet. The houſehold of the deceaſed, his officers and ſervants, all in deep mourning, went firſt on ſhore, moſt of whom had torches in their hands, and others carried the ſtandards which had been taken from the Turks. The clergy marched after the prince's houſehold, carrying his corps, and chanting the ſervice of the church. After theſe came the grand maſter, and all the lords of the council, and were followed

PETER DE MONTE. 23 Aug. 1658.

lowed by the body of the knights. The corps of the deceaſed was carried into the chapel of our lady of victory, which la Valette had built at his own expence, in the new city, which he had choſe for the place of his burial, where they depoſited his remains, and divine ſervice was afterwards performed with all the ceremonies of the church, and all the honours due to the memory of ſo great a man.

The end of the Thirteenth Book.

BOOK the Fourteenth.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AMONG the ſeveral authors who have writ the general hiſtory of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, whether in Italian, Latin, French or Spaniſh, not one of them has carried his account of it lower than the laſt ſiege of Malta: 1565. all theſe writers leave off, as it were by concert, at that famous epocha, fancying, probably, that they could not better end their works, than with the concluſion of that bloody war; perhaps too, as the forces of both parties, being equally exhauſted, might have afterwards produced fewer of thoſe great events that merit a place in hiſtory.

WHATEVER might have been their different motives, I have followed the ſame method in the plan and diſtribution of my work. The thirteenth book ends at the raiſing of the ſiege of Malta, and the defeat of Muſtapha, general to Solyman II. I have only added what paſſed in the laſt years of la Valette's government till the death of that great man, the glory and ornament of his age, as well as of his order. If the hiſtory of a king ends generally with his life, it is not the ſame in that of a republic, which ought to be continued as long as the ſame form of government exiſts. So that the authors who, after me, ſhall tranſmit to poſterity the ſeries of events that have happened in this order, may begin where I leave off. However, till ſuch

time as ſome new writer ſhall think fit to continue it, or I myſelf may have health enough to collect memoirs, and carry on my hiſtory to our own times, I thought myſelf obliged, for the ſatisfaction of the public, to add, after the thirteen former books, a fourteenth in the form of annals, and by way of ſupplement, containing a ſummary account of the principal events that have happened in the order, from the election of the prior de Monte, the immediate ſucceſſor of la Valette, to that of don Manuel de Vilhena, the preſent auſpicious governor of this illuſtrious order.

ANNALS OF THE ORDER OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Drawn up in a ſuccinct manner.

THE 23d of Auguſt, A. D. 1568, brother PETER DE MONTE, or DU MONT, grand prior of Capua, was elected grand maſter. His name was Guidalotti; but being great nephew by the mother's ſide to pope Julius III. of the houſe of Monte, he, for that reaſon, took the name and arms of that family. PETER DE MONTE.

DAME Hieronyma d'Olibo, grand prioreſs of the royal houſe of Sixene, of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, ſituated, as has been already obſerved, in the kingdom of Arragon, returned to her obedience, with the conſent of her whole community, and put herſelf under the government and particular authority of the grand maſter, from which that houſe had withdrawn itſelf for near an hundred years, on pretence that it depended only on the holy ſee. 1569.

SELIMUS II. emperor of the Turks, undertakes the conqueſt of the iſle of Cyprus, and on that account declares war againſt the Venetians. The progreſs of this war; and the taking of Nicoſia and Famaguſta by the infidels, gives occaſion to a league

between the pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians.

THE chevaliers de St. Aubin, Roquelaure, and Ferrand de Coiro, famous cruizers, take con-
1570. siderable prizes in the Egyptian ſea, and in the very mouth of the Nile. But theſe advantages, which accrued only to the profit of ſome private men, do not compenſate the order for the great loſs it ſuſtains, by the defeat of St. Clement. Lucchiali, a famous corſair, at the head of a ſtrong ſquadron, ſurpriſes that of Malta, under the command of this knight, takes three gallies from him, and forces the admiral to run a-ground off of the tower of Monchiaro, in the iſle of Sicily. This impropitious event is followed with the fatal death of St. Clement.

THE battle of Lepanto between the Chriſtians and infidels. The Turks loſt 30,000 men in it:
1571. their general was killed, two of his ſons were taken priſoners, together with 5000 officers or ſoldiers: 20,000 Chriſtian ſlaves recover their liberty: they took 140 gallies from the infidels, not to mention ſuch as were either burnt or ſunk. The Chriſtians on their ſide loſt 7600 men, and fourteen captains of the gallies. Though the order had ſent no more than three gallies, nevertheleſs the knights bravely ſignalized themſelves in this engagement.

IN the ſame year the grand maſter having, with great expence, finiſhed the building of the new city, called the city of la Valette, the foundation of which had been laid by the grand maſter of that name, he tranſports the reſidence of the convent thither.

THE diſtribution of the principal dignities of the order. Brother Francis Burgo is made bailiff of Majorca: brother Francis d'Arquembourg Tourville quits the dignity of hoſpitaller for the grand priory of Champagne: brother Peter Pelloquin ſucceeds him in the poſt of hoſpitaller, after having quitted the dignity of bailiff of the Morea, which, upon his abdication, is given to brother William de Malin-le-Lux: this laſt reſigns the poſt of great treaſurer, which is given to brother Chriſtopher de Montgaudri. After all theſe ſeveral removals,

the

the grand maſter and the council, upon the voluntary reſignation of the commander de d'Arquembourg Tourville, at the requeſt of Charles the ninth, beſtows the grand priory of Champagne upon the chevalier de Sevre.

THE death of the grand maſter de Monte, aged 76. Brother JOHN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE, of the language of Auvergne, and marſhal of the order, is elected grand maſter; and the next day after his election, he is in full council acknowledged ſovereign prince of the iſlands of Malta and Goza. JOHN L' EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE

UNDER his adminiſtration a new promotion is made in the dignities of the order. 1572. 27. Jan. The commander brother Mark de la Goutte, of the language of Auvergne, is made grand marſhal of the order, which poſt was vacant by the election of la Caſſiere to the grand maſterſhip. The commander brother Hubert Solar is made lieutenant to the great admiral, and afterwards prior of Lombardy. Brother Juſtinian, general of the gallies, having completed his two years of ſervice, is ſucceeded by brother Philip Flach, grand bailiff of Germany. Brother Francis Pouget is made captain of the admiral galley; and brother Pompey Soard, commander of the galley of St. Peter. Brother Francis Mego of the iſle of Rhodes, after having executed the office of auditor, under the grand maſters d'Omedes, la Valette, Monte, and la Caſſiere, is made vice-chancellor of the order, upon the promotion of Rojas Chapelain to the biſhopric of Malta. The commander Francis de Moretton Chabrillan, and Dr. Melchior Cagliares, are appointed ſyndics, to examine the conduct of the judges in civil and criminal cauſes.

BROTHER Jerom de Guette, great conſervator, is ſent embaſſador to Rome, to take the oath of obedience to Gregory XIII. ſucceſſor to Pius V. 1573.

GREAT preparations are made at Malta, to oppoſe the grand ſignior Selimus II. who had threatened to fall upon the iſland with all his forces: 1574.

but he employs them another way, and takes the fort of Goletta, and the city of Tunis.

THIS year the inquisition is said to have been set up in the isle of Malta.

1575. THE death of Selimus II. who succeeded is by Amurath III. his eldest son.

A great dispute between the order and the republic of Venice about a ship richly laden with merchandize belonging to some Jews, which the knights seize upon as their prize.

ANOTHER dispute between several commanders of the language of Provence, about the grand priory of Toulouse. Romegas is made general of the gallies.

ON occasion of the reports of an invasion which the Turks intended speedily against Malta, the grand
1576. master and council are reproached for making no provision against it (under pretence that the king of Spain was as much concerned as themselves, in the preservation of the island) and of being guilty of a neglect which might prove very prejudicial to the order.

BROTHER John George de Schonborn is by the council appointed to redress the abuses which had crept into the commandries of Germany by the mal-administration of the particular receivers.

THE chevalier de Mendosa, as yet only a probationer, arrives at Malta with a brief from the pope, who orders, that as soon as he shall have made his vows, he shall take the great cross, with the title of turcopilier, annexed to the language of England. This causes a general discontent in the convent, who send embassadors to the pope to engage him to revoke the brief, granted to a young man who had no experience, and who yet was going to be one of the eight pillers, or chiefs of the whole order.

THE affair of the Jews of Venice comes again upon the carpet. The senate, by way of reprisals, sequester all the estates which the order had within the territories of the republic. The grand master, on this occasion, sends an embassador to Rome, to represent to the pope, that

that as thoſe Jews were not ſubjects of the republic, it was a conſtant practice, and which was moreover allowed by all laws whatever, to ſeize upon an enemy's robe, as counterband goods, though it be found on board a friend's ſhip. This affair was concluded to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate; the knights were obliged to reſtore the booty which they had taken from the Levantine Jews, and the ſenate took off the ſequeſtration.

THE chevalier Correa, a Portugueſe, is aſſaſſinated by ſix other knights, his countrymen, who, putting on falſe beards, got by that means into his apartment. They are arreſted, and proſecuted, and the ſecular judge condemns them to be ſewed up in a ſack, and thrown into the ſea. 1577.

THE corſairs of Algiers take the galley of St. Paul, which belonged to the order.

THERE was in the houſe of Auſtria, of the German branch, a young prince, Archduke Wenceſlaus by name, who took the croſs and habit as knight of Malta. The pope, at the king of Spain's requeſt, gave him a brief, in the form of *gratiæ expectativæ*, a kind of bull, dated March the 10th, 1577, to qualify him to enjoy the dignity of grand croſs, the priories of Caſtile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, after the death of the incumbents; which the grand maſter and council, in conſideration of the protection the order received from the king of Spain, were obliged to paſs, after the German prince had made his vows.

FRANCE, at the ſame time, made another invaſion, in prejudice of the rights of ſeniority, and the privileges of the order. The council of Henry III. having iſſued out an order, authorizing the king to name ſome of his ſubjects to the grand priory of Auvergne, that prince wrote to the grand maſter to procure the three grand priories of France, St. Giles and Champagne, for Francis de Lorraine the queen's brother.

THE order had another ſtorm breaking out upon it from Germany, where it was debated in a diet, whether it would be proper to oblige the knights of Malta, of

the German language, to incorporate themſelves with the Teutonic knights, and unite their commandries to that order, to render it thereby more powerful, and better able to make war upon the infidels in Hungary. But this went no farther, the propoſal being baffled by the skill and dexterity of the commander Scaglia, a Piedmonteſe, and at that time embaſſador from the order to the diet.

THE grand duke of Tuſcany ſends the chevalier Bongianni Giantigliazzi, with the grand maſter's leave, as his embaſſador to Conſtantinople. The Turkiſh ſultan, in a private converſation which he had with him, ſhewing him a plan of the city of la Valette, asked the embaſſador if it was drawn exactly, and whether the place was as well fortified as it appeared to be? "Sir, (replied the "knight) he who drew this plan forgot its chief for- "tification, which conſiſts in the courage and valour "of above a thouſand knights, who are ever ready to "fight to the laſt drop of their blood in defence of the "place." 1577.

TROUBLES in the order, raiſed by eight Caſtilian knights, who complained againſt the grand maſter and the council, as having greatly wronged them and their whole language, in conſenting to the diſpoſition which the pope and the king of Spain had made of the priories of Caſtile and Leon, and the bailliage of Lora, in favour of the archduke Wenceſlaus. The malecontents were inſtigated underhand by ſeveral great croſſes, who fomented the ſedition. The grand maſter has recourſe to the pope, who cites the mutineers to appear before him; they own their fault, and the grand maſter, under pretence that as they had not any commandries, nor any patrimony or money of their own, it would be impoſſible for them to undertake ſuch a journey, prevails with the pope to excuſe them from coming to Rome; they were however obliged to appear before him in full council, with each of them a wax taper in his hand, in order to make him and the council ſatisfaction, and to ask 1578.

his

his pardon: which was granted them, after their having been firſt ſeverely reprimanded by the grand maſter.

THE death of the grand prior of Bohemia. The emperors had taken upon them to nominate to it, and the order for a long time had neither enjoyed the perſonal eſtate of thoſe who died, nor the mortuary, nor the profits ariſing from the vacancy of the priory. The grand maſter and council appoint the bailiff de Schomborn their embaſſador at the imperial court. This knight has a conference at Prague with brother Chriſtopher de Verdemberg, who had very great intereſt with the emperor: and, to engage him to ſupport the rights of the order, the bailiff delivers him an inſtrument and a bull from the grand maſter, by which he conſtituted him grand prior of Bohemia: which affair ſucceeds agreeable to the intentions and the deſires of the grand maſter.

HENRY, king of Portugal, acquaints the grand maſter with the death of his nephew king Sebaſtian, who was killed the 22d of September 1578, at the battle of Alcaçer, where ſeveral commanders of the order of St. John likewiſe loſt their lives, and notifies at the ſame time his own acceſſion to the throne.

BROTHERS Gargallo biſhop of Malta, and Creſſin prior of the church, both of them men of reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirits, began to raiſe a ſtorm, which broke out about this time, againſt the grand maſter their benefactor. 1579.

THE death of the archduke Wenceſlaus, grand prior of Caſtile and Leon, which is followed by that of Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to Charles V.

BROTHER Juſtiniani, grand prior of Meſſina, is named embaſſador to the courts of Caſtile and Portugal, to make the compliments of condolance upon the death of thoſe ſeveral princes, and particularly to make ſure of ſuccours from thence, that the order might be the better enabled to oppoſe the Turks, who again threatened to invade Malta.

BISHOP

BISHOP Gargalla, renewing his incroachments on the authority of the grand master and
1579. council, pretends to make a judicial visitation of the hospital of the Notable-city, in which he is opposed by the administrators, as being subject to no authority but that of the grand master and council. The bishop excommunicates them: the clergy side with him, and levy contributions to support the expences of this dispute. The order appoints brother Damientaliata, a Maltese divine, of the order of St. Dominic, to defend their privileges. The magistrates of the cities present a petition to the grand master, complaining that the friends and creatures of the bishop sallied out of his palace in arms, and abused the citizens who persisted in the obedience which they owed their sovereign. The grand master, to put a stop to this disorder, settles a guard of fifty men in the town, now called the Victorious City.

THE grand master sends brother Hugh de Loubens de Verdalle as his embassador to the pope, to acquaint him with these disturbances, and gives him instructions to apply to his holiness for a confirmation of the privileges which his predecessors had granted to the order; and likewise to grant leave for the prior of the church to confer, in case of the bishop's refusal, the lesser orders, not excepting those of deacons, upon young candidates for the ecclesiastical profession. The pope appoints the archbishop of Palermo to take cognizance of these disputes; but that prelate, upon his arrival at Malta, finds the animosities carried to such a height, that he remits the cognizance of the affair to the holy see, and the bishop goes to Rome to defend his conduct.

A GREAT conspiracy against the life of the grand master, whom three officers of the inquisition
1580. had resolved to poison: they are arrested, and accuse several knights, some of whom were great crosses, and particularly one Petrucci, inquisitor of Malta, of being their accomplices. Some knights of the languages of Italy, Arragon, and Castile,

ſtile, force their way tumultuouſly into the council, inſult the grand maſter, and, without any reſpect to his dignity, challenge him to declare what proof he had of their having conſpired againſt his life. And altho' the vice-chancellor told them, that they had not been ſo much as once mentioned in the council, they yet were not ſatisfied, but inſiſted that the order ſhould ſend three embaſſadors to the pope, who were brother Anthony de Villars, grand prior of Auvergne, brother Francis Guiral, bailiff of Negrepont, and brother Anthony de Bologna, bailiff of St. Stephens. But Bologna and Guiral, not caring to intermeddle in ſo troubleſome an affair, excuſed themſelves from the journey, on pretence of their ill ſtate of health; which a little damped the heat and animoſity of the moſt violent.

THE bailiff of Brandenburg, and ſeveral knights of the bailliage of Sonneberg, are cited before the council of the order, for having, in oppoſition to their profeſſion, embraced the Lutheran religion.

THE emperor pretends he has a right to nominate to the grand priory, and the commandries of the kingdom of Bohemia.

THE council, ſupported by the greateſt part of the convent, rebel againſt la Caſſiere. This ſedition was raiſed on three ſeveral accounts. The 1581.
firſt was becauſe of the grand maſter's having forbid the knights of different languages to favour particularly the nations and princes whoſe ſubjects they were born: his reaſon for it was, becauſe the Spaniards, who, ſince the time of Charles V. had been bred up under the formidable power of the houſe of Auſtria, were for bringing the whole order to crouch to it. The ſecond cauſe was, the grand maſter's having iſſued out a public proclamation to clear the town and city of la Valette of all looſe and diſorderly women, and his having forced them either to quit the iſland, or retire into the villages and hamlets which lay remote from the reſidence of the convent. The third occaſion was owing to the ambition of ſome great croſſes who aſpired to the grand maſterſhip; and who, ſeeing the

grand

grand master, though he was very old, nevertheless enjoyed his health very well, were afraid they should not outlive him, and therefore resolved either to depose him, or force him to abdicate, and by that means make a vacancy in his dignity.

THE languages of Castile and Portugal, some add those of Arragon and Germany, several knights of the three languages of France, with Mathurin del Escur, called Romegas, at their head, meet in a tumultuous manner, and complain, that the grand master, by the several orders he issued out, plainly manifested that his understanding was in a manner gone: that he was more intent upon the conduct of the Maltese women, than upon the enterprises of the Turks and the Corsairs of Barbary; that he took no care of filling the magazines of Malta; that he was always asleep at council, and did nothing when he was awake but plague his knights: and thereupon they send deputies to him, to propose to him his naming of a lieutenant, since he himself was incapable of the administration. Upon his refusal, a full council meets at brother Cressin's, who was prior of the church, and the main spring of this sedition, when they appoint Romegas, prior of Toulouse and Ireland, to be lieutenant of the mastership; the Spanish knights having preferred him before others of their own nation, in hopes of engaging the languages of France on their side. Such was the result of this seditious assembly, whose aim was to suspend from his lawful authority, a grand master, who was valuable for his wisdom, his piety and valour, only to put in his stead a knight, given up a prey to ambition, brave indeed and successful in cruising, but of a savage nature, cruel to his enemies; and whose only merit was his being a formidable corsair.

BESIDES Romegas, who was in reality, though secretly, at the head of the conspiracy, and who, in outward appearance, seemed only to be drawn in to acquiesce to the sentiments of the greatest part of the knights, there were four others who acted openly against the grand master. The first was Cressin, whom

the

the grand maſter had made prior of the church. This wretch ſeemed to be the moſt bitter enemy his benefactor had The ſecond was the bailiff Rivalle, who, having miſſed of the grand maſterſhip, when Monte carried it from him, fancied he ſhould get it, in caſe la Caſſiere could be depoſed. The third was Ducro, a great croſs; and the fourth, who was Romegas's creature and confident, was a Frenchman, the commander de Maillo-Sacquenville by name.

THESE four ringleaders of the ſedition do not ſtop here; but, to carry their rebellion and outrage ſtill further, they, at the head of their accomplices, ruſh into the grand maſter's palace; arreſt him by virtue of an order of council; put him in an open chair, and carry him under a guard of ſoldiers, like a criminal to the caſtle of St. Angelo, where they kept him priſoner. All the way as he went from the city of la Valette to the caſtle, he was expoſed to the ſhouts and inſolence of ſeveral young knights, and of thoſe ſcandalous proſtitutes, who inſulted and abuſed him with abominable language, by way of reproach; but this conduct on the contrary, before equitable judges, was real encomiums that redounded to his glory.

THE rebels, in order to get their proceedings approved of by the pope, the ſupreme head of the order, ſent him three embaſſadors, the chief of whom was Sacquenville, the confident of Romegas, who got him named. The grand maſter, notwithſtanding his cloſe confinement, found means to ſend four other embaſſadors to Rome; theſe were the chevaliers de Blot Viviers, Peter Roux de Beauvais, brother Don Francis de Guzman, and brother Angelo Pellegrini.

TWO days after, Chabrillan, general of the gallies, returns back into the harbour of Malta, with the knights who had been out at ſea with him. He was no ſooner aſhore but he deſired to ſee the grand maſter, which the rebels durſt not refuſe him: whereupon he goes to the caſtle of St. Angelo, and offers the grand maſter to reſtore him to his authority, and carry him back to his palace at the head of 2000 men,

made

made up either of the forces he had on board his gallies, or of the knights and the worthieſt people of the iſland, who deteſted this inſurrection. But the generous old man anſwered him, with great wiſdom, that he expected to be reſtored by the authority of the pope, the firſt ſuperior of the order; and that he had rather end his days in priſon, than give occaſion to his knights, whom he always conſidered as his children, to fight with one another upon his account.

THE embaſſadors of the two parties arrive at Rome: thoſe of the mutineers, in order to bring his holineſs to conſent to the depoſing of the grand maſter, repreſent him as an old man that had loſt his ſenſes, and who was incapable of governing the order. The pope, to prevent his being impoſed upon by this aſſertion, ſends Gaſpar Viſcenti, auditor of the Rota, as his nuncio, to Malta, to take cognizance of the affair on the place. This prelate, upon his arrival there, calls a general aſſembly of all the convent, and lays before them two briefs which he had brought with him; one for the grand maſter, and the other for Romegas; by which both of them were enjoined to come to Rome.

THE king of France, upon receiving advice of the ſhameful treatment which the grand maſter met with from his religious, ſends him a knight to aſſure him that he will employ all his power to reduce the mutineers to their duty.

LA CASSIERE arrives at Rome, attended with 800 knights. He makes his entry into that capital of the Chriſtian world as it were in triumph. The pope's court, the houſes of the cardinals, ſeveral princes and embaſſadors, go a conſiderable way to meet him. His holineſs receives him with great marks of eſteem, condoles and comforts him. Romegas ſollicits an audience; but the pope ſends him word, that he will not ſo much as ſee him, till he has firſt abdicated his poſt of lieutenant of the maſterſhip. Romegas is ſo prodigiouſly afflicted upon his receiving of this order, that he falls in a ſwoon, and is ſeized with a violent fever, which carries him off in a few days. His partiſans are

ordered

ordered to go and make their ſubmiſſions to the grand maſter. The commander de Sacquenville, coming up to the grand maſter, and going no further than asking to kiſs his hand, the cardinal de Montalto cried to him, "Down upon your knees, rebellious knight; had it "not been for the goodneſs and clemency of your "worthy grand maſter, your head had been chopped "off ſome days ago in the piazza Navona." Every body at Malta make their ſubmiſſions. The pope was for having the grand maſter return to Malta, there to enjoy the authority to which he was reſtored; but providence diſpoſed otherways of him, and he died at Rome after three months ſtay in that city. His corps was carried back to Malta, and his heart depoſited at Rome, in the church of St. Lewis. His holineſs ordered this inſcription to be put over it, which was made by the famous M. Anthony Muret.

"Fratri Joanni epiſcopo, magno militiæ Hieroſoly-"mitanæ magiſtro, viro fortiſſimo, religioſiſſimo, ſplen-"didiſſimo, cujus, ut igne aurum, ſic calumniis ſpecta-"ta ac probata integritas, etiam enituit, ſacra ſodalitas "militum Hieroſolymitanorum patriæ principi optimo "mærens poſuit. Vixit annos 78, obiit Romæ 12 "Kalend. Januarii 1582."

THE grand maſter happening to die at Rome, made all the order afraid leſt the pope, as firſt ſuperior, ſhould take upon him to name his ſucceſſor. This was the occaſion of an embaſſy, and a famous deputation, ſent by the convent of Malta to Gregory XIII. to intreat him not to infringe the order's right of election. The pope ordered a ſearch to be made into the regiſters of his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of Boniface IX. Innocent VII. and Gregory XII. and, after coming to a reſolution, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, with an aſſurance that he would, in a little time, ſend them a brief to proceed to an election, without any further explanation of his intentions, of which he told them ſignior Viſconti his nuncio was fully inſtructed. 1582.

IN fact, upon the 12th of January 1582, the chapter being met, and the ſixteen electors choſe, his holi-

neſs's nuncio preſented them a brief, wherein he allowed them indeed to proceed to a kind of choice, but confined them to chuſe one of the three perſons whom the pope had propoſed, viz. Verdalle, a knight of the language of Provence, and great commander; Paniſſe, grand prior of St. Giles; and Chabrillan, bailiff of Manoſque. VERDALLE, who had been a long time embaſſador at Rome, and was very acceptable to the pope and all his court, found the ſame favourable diſpoſitions towards him in the chapter; accordingly he was choſen, and proclaimed grand maſter; and the pope ratified his election, and ſent a brief to incorporate and unite the dignity of turcopilier to the grand maſterſhip, a dignity which had been anciently annexed to the language of England.

HUGH DE LOUBENX DE VERDALLE.

1583. A GENERAL chapter is held, which lays a general tax upon all the eſtates of the order.

THE Venetians ſeize two gallies of the order, by way of repriſals, for ſome merchandize that had been taken in Turkiſh veſſels, and which was claimed by Venetian merchants.

NEW fortifications ordered in the iſle of Goza.

THE language of Italy carries the point of precedence before that of Arragon.

1584. Jan. 9th. THE proſecution and trial of the chevalier Avogadre, general of the gallies: he is deprived of his poſt, condemned to a year's impriſonment, and the revenues of his bailliage are confiſcated for three years, and paid in to the treaſury of the order.

THE grand duke's gallies cruize in company with thoſe of the order.

BROTHER Claude of Lorrain, called the chevalier d'Aumale, arrives at Malta in a galley of his own.

JOHN Andrew Doria, generaliſſimo to the king of Spain, arrives at Malta, and has a conference with the grand maſter.

THE

THE pope's brief, excluding the knights, and incapacitating them for being made either biſhops of Malta, or prelates of the church.

DEATH of pope Gregory XIII. The election of Sixtus Quintus.

A VENETIAN ſhip arreſted by the gallies of the order, by way of repriſals.

THIS year is ſpent in debating the grand maſter's right of nominating the general of the gallies, and the knight who was to have the particular command of the admiral galley. 1585.

AN order forbidding any man's carrying pocket piſtols and ſtillettos about him; weapons fit only for banditti and aſſaſſins. 1586.

SACONNAI, grand marſhal of the order, is puniſhed for taking a knight's ſervant, who had been accuſed of theft, out of the priſon of the Caſtellany. 1587.

CHARLES d'Orleans is put in poſſeſſion of the grand priory of France, without any reſervation, and in the very ſame manner that Henry de Angoulême had enjoyed it.

BROTHER Michael de Sevre, grand prior of Champagne, takes a very inconſiderate ſtep, and appeals from the decrees of the laſt general chapter, to the ſecular tribunal.

THE ſpirit of ſedition ſtill continues in the convent. The grand maſter goes to Rome. The pope, to ſilence the malecontents, creates him a cardinal, and ſends him back to Malta.

SEVERAL prizes taken by the knights who were out a cruiſing. 1588.

THE grand maſter makes choice of James Boſio to write the hiſtory of the order, which had been begun by the commander John Anthony Foſſan. 1589.

DEATH of pope Sixtus Quintus, who is ſucceeded by Gregory XIV. 1590.

THE Jews and their effects are, by a particular brief of the pope, declared to be lawful prize. 1591.

THE plague makes dreadful havock in the iſland of Malta. The Jeſuits are brought in by biſhop
1592. Gargallo, and ſettle there.

THE commander John Otho Boſio is made
1593. vice-chancellor.

THE pope grants the priory of Barletto, vacant by the death of cardinal Scipio of Gonzaga, to prince Ferdinand of Gonzaga, afterwards cardinal, and, at laſt, duke of Mantua.

THE grand priory of Venice, after having
1594. been poſſeſſed by cardinal Farneſe, devolves to cardinal Colonna.

HENRY IV. after the death of Henry III. and during the time of the civil wars, diſpoſes of the grand priory of Aquitain in favour of the commander de Chattes; and of that of Auvergne in favour of the baron de Bellegarde, though he was a layman.

THE dignity of cardinal, which the pope had conferred on the grand maſter, is not ſufficient
1595. to put a ſtop to the reſtleſs and ſeditious humour of the malecontents: ſo that this prince, tired out with their continual murmurs and complaints, makes another voyage to Rome, and dies of grief.

BROTHER don MARTIN GARZEZ, of
1596. the language of Arragon, is choſen grand
MARTIN maſter. He had no favourites, no partia-
GARZEZ. lity, and his government was agreeable both to the knights and the people.

POPE Clement VIII. confers the priory of Piſa upon don Antonio de Medicis.

THE Turks ravage Hungary; and the council of the order, to encourage the ſuccouring of that
1597. nation, declares, by a ſolemn edict, that any knights who ſhould ſerve in that country againſt the infidels, the order will reckon that ſervice an equivalent to their reſidence, and that they ſhall be intitled to the ſame privileges as if they had reſided in the convent, or had ſerved on board the veſſels of the order.

THE

THE emperor of Rodolph II. iſſues out a diploma, which terminates the affair of Bohemia to the ſatisfaction of the order. 1598.

NEW troubles at Malta, occaſioned by the proceedings of the inquiſitors, whoſe ſucceſſors carry them to a ſtill greater height. 1599.

THE grand maſter and the council make a decree in favour of the Swiſs, allowing their children to be received into the priory of Germany, provided theſe children are born in lawful wedlock of father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, great grandfather and great grandmother, all Roman catholics, and ſtatutably qualified, who had never been mechanics, but deſcended from officers, captains, and commanders, whoſe profeſſion of arms was to be conſidered on the footing of nobility.

THE century ends with the fortifications which the grand maſter and the council make in the caſtle and iſle of Goza.

THE bailliage of Armenia ſuppreſſed. Great diſputes between the languages of Italy and Germany, both of them claiming the priory of Hungary. 1600.

THE inquiſitors, to make their court to the pope, are continually making incroachments on the authority of the grand maſter and council, and make themſelves odious and inſupportable to the knights.

DEATH of the grand maſter don Martin de Garzez. Brother ALOF DE VIGNACOUR, grand hoſpitaller of France, is choſen to ſucceed him. This knight, who was of the language of France, and of a very antient family of the province of Picardy, was great croſs and hoſpitaller of the order, when his merit raiſed him to the dignity of grand maſter: and there has hardly ever been a maſterſhip more famous than his; whether we conſider its duration, which was upwards of twenty years, or the various events that happened in the order during his adminiſtration. 1601. ALOF DE VIGNACOUR.

30815

THE grand master dispatched several embassadors to notify his election to the principal sovereigns of Christendom. The commander Rodrigo Britto was sent to the pope; brother Nicholas Dellamara to the emperor; brother William de Meaux Bois Boudran was employed in the same quality at the court of the king of France; and don Bernard de Zuniga at that of his catholic majesty.

THE inquisitor Veralli is for taking cognizance of the affairs of the government; in which he is openly countenanced by pope Clement VIII.

THE gallies of the order seize upon the town of Ma-
1602. hometa, on the coast of Barbary; an enterprize formed with great prudence, and executed with as much valour.

EMERY de Chattes made embassador of the order to king Henry IV.

ENTERPRIZE of the knights upon the towns of Lepanto and Patras.

1603. A GENERAL chapter held.

THE gallies of the order ravage the isle of Lango,
1604. formerly so dear to the knights, during their residence at Rhodes; but now their successors carry off 165 slaves, out of hatred to the Turks.

1605. DEATH of pope Clement VIII.

PAUL V. his successor, gives three commandries of the language of Italy to one of his nephews,
1606. though they did not happen to fall vacant in the court of Rome: and a little while afterwards, he likeways conferred the commandry of Benevento upon cardinal Buffalo.

PROJECT of a knight, a Dalmatian by birth, but of the language of Germany, proposed to the
1607. order, for getting the Poles to restore the great commandry of Posna, which was fallen into secular hands, upon condition of establishing a body of knights in that kingdom, to serve on horseback against the Turks; which did not succeed, by reason of the obstacles

obſtacles put in the way by a prince of the houſe of Radzivil, whoſe anceſtors or relations had probably got poſſeſſion of it.

TROUBLES at Malta in the inn and language of Germany, on account of an attempt which had been made to get Charles count of Brie, natural ſon to Henry duke of Lorrain, admitted into that language; the affair is carried to ſuch an height, that the Germans tear down the arms of the grand maſter and the order from off the gate of their inn, and leave only thoſe of the emperor. 1608.

FRANCIS de Lorrain, called the chevalier de Gurſe, makes his firſt campaign on board the gallies of Malta. 1609.

THE chevaliers Freſenet, Maurot, and Gaucort, ſurpriſe the fortreſs of Lajazzo in the gulf of that name, make their way into it by means of a petard, which blew up the gate; take a great booty, and, after blowing up the fortifications of the place, carry off above 300 ſlaves.

A YEAR fatal to France and the order of Malta, by the aſſaſſination of Henry the great. 1610.

CORINTH taken and ſacked by the gallies of the order. 1611.

THE prince of Vendoſme made general of the gallies of the order. 1612.

THE grand maſter upon receiving advice that the corſairs of Barbary deſigned to make an attempt upon the iſle of Goza, ſends troops, ammunition, and proviſions thither. 1613.

A NEW alarm in the language of Italy, by the pope's granting the duke of Modena's ſon the *gratiæ expectativæ*, a kind of bull, upon the commandry of Reggio: a favour of a dangerous nature from the ill conſequences that might enſue. 1614.

SIXTY Turkiſh gallies appear off of the iſle of Malta, and land 5000 men, but are able to 1615.

make

make no ſlaves from the care the inhabitants take to retire into the ſtrong holds.

THE grand maſter makes an aqueduct to carry a fine large ſpring from the city of Malta commonly
1616. called the Notable-city, to the city of Valette, and the piazza before the grand maſter's palace: a work worthy of the Roman grandeur.

THE duke of Nevers is for founding a new order, or, properly ſpeaking, for ſeparating the old one of St. Sepulchre from the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. Brother don Lewis Mendez de Vaſconcellos, bailiff of Acre, a very able negotiator, is diſpatched to the court of France, to traverſe the duke's deſigns. He arrives in France with the quality of embaſſador extraordinary, and went to his firſt audience attended by the commander de Silery embaſſador in ordinary, brother de St. Leger, receiver of the priory of France, the commander de Formigères captain of the life-guards, the commander de Girlande, and all the knights who were then at Paris, and about the court. He preſented his letter to the king, who gave as favourable an anſwer to it as could be wiſhed, and the duke of Nevers's project came to nothing.

FACARDIN, prince of the Druſi, comes to Malta, to implore the protection and ſuccour of the order againſt the grand ſeignior's perſecutions.

BOSIO, who was only an honorary knight, pretending to diſpute precedence with a knight
1617. who was his ſenior, was made ſenſible that his ſeniority could not be reckoned but from the day of his rehabilitation, and that an honorary knight could never be advanced to the dignities of the order.

1618. THE treaſury of the order cauſe a gallion to be built in the port of Amſterdam, which coſts 60,000 crowns of gold.

NEW fortifications raiſed in the roads of St. Paul, of Marſa-Sirocco, and Marſa Scala, and in the little iſle of Comino, ſituated between Malta and Goza.

CAGLIARES,

CAGLIARES, biſhop of Malta, makes ſeveral incroachments on the authority of the grand maſter and council: he goes to Rome to ſupport 1619.
them, and leaves behind him a vicar-general as pragmatical as himſelf. The young knights of all the languages, unable to endure the audaciouſneſs of that turbulent fellow, run to look for him in his houſe, in order to throw him into the ſea. The grand maſter obliges him to ſurrender himſelf, and ſends him to Rome to anſwer the proſecution againſt him. The pope is incenſed at this affair, orders his inquiſitor to examine into it, and threatens to excommunicate the grand maſter and council, whoſe ſubmiſſion at laſt puts an end to the affair.

THE army of the catholic league make an unſucceſsful attempt in order to ſeize upon the town of Suſa on the coaſt of Barbary. A conſiderable number of knights had a ſhare in this expedition, among whom are reckoned brother Anthony Barras, brother Francis Juxs, brother de la Meuſana, brother Merault de Pelons, brother Melchior de Gozon-Melac, brother Anthony an honorary knight, captain of foot in the ſervice of the king of Spain: and among the wounded were brother Alphonſo Caſtel St. Pierre, captain of the admiral-galley of the order, brother Anthony Maſtrillo, captain of the patroneſs, brother John de Saligy, a native of Auvergne, brother Ceſar de St. Peryer, of the language of France, who died at Malta of his wounds, brother Azeredoa Caſtilian, and brother Luys Mendez Vaſconcellos, a Portugueſe.

FRANCIS Ottoman, a dominican friar, who pretended to be ſon to the grand ſeignior Achmet, comes to Malta, and is received there up- 1620.
on the recommendation of cardinal Verally, preſident of the congregation of the Catechumens.

ENTERPRISE of the gallies of the order upon Caſtel-Tornez. The commander brother Alphonſo Caſtel St. Pierre is named by the general of the gallies to head that entepriſe. They clap three petards to the gate, and break into the palace; which was a kind of magazine

gazine to all the Morea. The general of the gallies has notice given him by a Greek, that in caſe he does not retire immediately, his retreat will be intercepted by 4000 Turks who were hard by. He orders a retreat to be ſounded, and St. Pierre, who received the ſame advice, forms a ſquadron, and makes his way to the ſea with the booty and the priſoners he had taken.

1621. DEATH of Paul V, who is ſucceeded by Gregory XV. This pope iſſues out bulls to confirm all the privileges which his predeceſſors had granted to the order.

1622. NEW complaints of the language of Italy, on account of being deprived of their right of ſucceeding to the vacant commandries, by the popes nomination to them oftentimes before they became ſo.

THE commander de Chatte Geſſan is ſent to Malta by king Lewis XIII. to deſire the order to join their gallies to his, in order to fight againſt the Hugonots.

THE chevalier de Caſſelani de Montemedan is by the council ordered to go with the gallies to Marſeilles, and to carry thither the great gallion which had been built at Amſterdam.

THE grand maſter de Vignacour being a hunting, and purſuing a hare in all the heat of the month of Auguſt, was ſeized with a fit of an apoplexy, juſt as had happened fifty years before to the grand maſter de la Valette. They carried him to the new city, where he appointed brother Nicholas la Mara, great admiral of the order, to be his lieutenant. He afterwards received the ſacraments of the church with great devotion, diſpoſed of his effects as uſual, and died on the 14th of September, being 75 years old.

THE chapter met to chuſe him a ſucceſſor. There were two pretenders, viz. Luys Mendez de Vaſconcellos a portugueſe, bailiff of Acre, who had been embaſſador from the order to the courts of Rome and France, and Anthony de Paule, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles. Brother don LUYS MENDEZ had the preference, and was accordingly proclaimed grand maſter.

LUYS MENDEZ

maſter on the 17th of September; but he hardly enjoyed his dignity ſix months; and the little time that he outlived Vignacour, was employed in confirming the wiſe regulations he had made. The grand maſter being near fourſcore years of age, died on the ſixth of March 1623.

THE 10th of the ſame month, they proceeded to the election of a new grand maſter, and the choice of the convent fell upon brother Anthony de Paule, prior of St. Giles, being ſeventy one years old. The commander de Tormegeres, embaſſador of the order in France, dying about this time, the commander Durand de Villegagnon, was put a ſecond time into that poſt, to notify the election of the new grand maſter to Lewis XIII. ANTHONY DE PAULE.

DEATH of pope Gregory XV. who is ſucceeded by Urban VIII. This pope gets Anthony Barberini, his great nephew, to be received into the order as a chevalier de Juſtice, with a diſpenſation for keeping his reſidence, and ſerving in the gallies of the order.

JOHN de Fonſeca, a Portugueſe novice, or probationer, has his head cut off in the great piazza of the palace, after having been found guilty of robbery and murder.

BROTHER Faulcon, prior of Capua, being convicted of embezzelling 15000 ducats of the revenue received from Naples, 2000 crowns of that of Rome, and 15000 ducats more of what the grand maſter Lewis Mendez left behind him, is condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and dies in priſon. 1624.

THE grand maſter does not want enemies among a ſet of men, who are impudent enough to fancy they can out-face truth, and make the blackeſt falſehoods paſs for matters of fact. They preſent a memorial to the pope, wherein they take notice that the grand maſter is a man of looſe life and converſation; that he is guilty of ſimony, and had bought his dignity with money. De Paule ſent the commander brother Denis Polaſtron

Polaſtron de la Hilliere to Rome; who, being a man of the greateſt probity and virtue, juſtified him in the moſt honourable manner from all theſe calumnies. The grand maſter had hardly got rid of this affair, when he had another upon his hands, which was full as troubleſome, becauſe pope Urban VIII. was both judge and party in it. His holineſs took upon him to diſpoſe of the commandries of the language of Italy. He had before given the two commandries of Milan and Bufalora, to don Antonio Barberini his nephew, and he afterwards gave that of Aſcoli to the chevalier Machiavelli; that of Volterra to the chevalier brother Donat Ruſtici; the right of ſeniority to the commander brother Hubert Ricaſoli, and the commandry of Monopoli to the chevalier brother Alexander Zambeccari. Theſe new conceſſions, added to thoſe of the popes Paul V. and Gregory XV. which were computed to amount to no leſs than 17 commandries, put all the language of Italy in a flame. The knights refuſed to make their campaigns, or to ſerve on board the ſhips or gallies of the order; and moſt of them retired to their own houſes and relations. The grand maſter, to remedy this diſorder, called a council, when it was agreed, that they ſhould ſend an embaſſador to the pope, to lay before him the juſt complaints of the order. They likewiſe ſent three others on the ſame account, to the principal ſovereigns of Chriſtendom. Brother James du Liege-Charault, grand hoſpitaller, was ordered to Rome; brother John Conrard de Roſbach, bailiff of Brandenburgh, was ſent to the emperor; la Marra, prior of Meſſina, and general of the gallies, to the king of France; and brother don John Ximenes, prior of Navarre, to the king of Spain. Theſe embaſſadors were likewiſe directed to lay before thoſe princes, an account of the abuſe of certain diſpenſations which were granted to the knights at Rome, by which they were allowed to diſpoſe of their effects, whereby the common treaſury was defrauded of its right, and which could end no otherwiſe than in

the

the ruin of the order. We ſhall take notice of the iſſue of this embaſſy to Rome under the year 1626.

THE order makes an attempt upon the iſland of Santa Maura, in poſſeſſion of the Turks, which miſcarries: twelve knights were killed in it, beſides a great number who were wounded. 1625.

A GREAT ſea-engagement, in which the order loſes two gallies, the St. John and the St. Francis: ſeveral knights were killed in it, others wounded, and ſome made ſlaves.

To theſe misfortunes muſt be added another; for the pope, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the grand maſter, and the council, continues to beſtow the Italian commandries on his relations. 1626.

THE order had hitherto never kept up above five gallies, but the grand maſter now cauſes a ſixth to be built. 1627.

URBAN, who was no friend to the order, not ſatisfied with plundering it of its principal commandries in Italy, which he beſtowed upon his relations, now publiſhes an ordinance, *motu proprio*, changing the method that had been always hitherto obſerved in the election of the grand maſters. 1628.

BROTHER Achilles d'Eſtampes Valençai is made a great croſs de grace (or by favour) upon the recommendation of Lewis XIII. king of France. 1629.

ANTONIO BOSIO, who was natural ſon to the bailiff brother John Otho, and adopted by his uncle James Boſio, made a great progreſs in polite literature, and eſpecially in the knowledge of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; ſo that his profound capacity, threw as it were a ſhade over the meanneſs of his extraction, as may be ſeen by his ſeveral works; particularly that of *Roma ſubterranea*. He ſucceeds his adoptive father in the poſt of agent to the order at Rome; and being the laſt

perſon left of his name, he ſucceeds this year to all the eſtate and effects of the family.

THE pope, ſtill intent upon reducing the government of the order, agreeable to his ſecret views, is for changing the old uſage that 1630. had been obſerved in general chapters.

SOME Chriſtian ſlaves, who compoſed the crew of a Turkiſh galley, commanded by Manni-Bei of Famaguſta in the iſle of Cyprus, rebel againſt 1631. him, take up arms, and either kill the captain and the ſoldiers of the galley, or force them to leap over-board, make themſelves maſters of the galley, and arrive ſafe at Malta.

A GENERAL chapter appointed on the 11th of May. The pope conſents that they ſhould retain the old uſage in it of ſixteen commiſſaries, two for every language: but he inſiſts, that the inquiſitor ſhall preſide over them, and have a power of delegating, in caſe of abſence, any body whom he ſhall think fit in his place; that he ſhall likewiſe have a power of ſuſpending the chapter, as well as of proroguing. The grand maſter aſſures the pope, that he is diſpoſed to obey him, but that the body of the order could not bear with patience his holineſs's introducing a perſon into the government who did not belong to the order, with the title and authority of preſident. The pope having no manner of regard to theſe remonſtrances, the council thought fit to ſubmit. But, in order to avoid the fire and violence of the young knights, they ſend them to ſea a cruiſing whilſt the general chapter is held.

ON ſunday the 11th of May 1631, this general chapter is opened, in which preſided the moſt ſerene lord Francis Anthony de Paule, grand maſter.

THE moſt reverend Imbroll, prior of the church.

Conventual bailiffs.

BROTHER
- Claude Durré Ventarob, — great commander.
- Francis Cremeaux, — great marſhal.
- Tuſſin de Ternez Boiſtrigault, — great hoſpitaller.
- Philip de Gaetan, — great admiral.
- Lewis de Moncada, — great conſervator.

grand

Grand priors.

BROTHER	Juſte du Fay Gerlande,	prior of	Auvergne.
	George de Caſtellane d'Aluis,		Toulouſe.
	Antonio Maria de Ciaia,		Lombardy.
	Nicolas Cavaretta,		Venice.
	Nicolas de la Marra,		Meſſina.
	Philip Bardaxi,		Empoſta.

Capitulary bailiffs.

BROTHER

- Signorin Gattenara, bailiff or prior of the bailliage of St. Euphemia.
- Francis Sans, bailiff of Negrepont.
- Ceſar Feretti, bailiff or prior of St. Stephens.
- Alexander Benſi, bailiff or prior of St. Trinity of Venuſia.
- Antonio Bracaccio, bailiff or prior of St. John near the ſea of Naples.

Humphrey de l'Hoſpital,	bailiff of	Majorca.
Francis Puget Cheſſuel,		Manoſque.
Juſte de Brun Laliege,		Leon.
De Rosbach,		Brandenburg.
John de Bernoi Villeneuve,		L'Aigle.
Laurence de Figueroa,		St. Sepulchre.
Lucius Grimaldi,		Pavia.
Lewis of Britto Maſcarnay,		Acre.
James Chriſtopher Abandlau,		&c.
Alexander Orſi,		&c.

Lieutenants of the conventual bailiffs.

BROTHER	Matthias James Phirt, lieutenant of the bailiff of Germany.
	Thomas Hozis, lieutenant of the great chancellor.

Proxies

Proxies of the priors.

BROTHER

- Biagio Brandoa, proxy of the moſt ſerene Ferdinand cardinal Infant, adminiſtrator of the priory of Portugal.
- Francis Buonaroti, proxy of the moſt illuſtrious don John Charles de Medicis, prior of Piſa.
- Anthony Scalamonte, proxy of the illuſtrious brother Aldobrandino Aldobrandini, prior of Rome.
- Triſtan de Villeneuve, proxy of brother James de Mauleon la Buſtide, prior of St. Gilles.
- Robert de Viole Soulere, proxy of brother William de Meaux Baudran, prior of France.
- Charles de Vajure, proxy of brother Peter de Beaujeu, prior of Champagne.
- Julio Amali, proxy of brother Peter Vintimiglia, prior of Capua.
- Martin de Redin, prior of Navarre, by appearing in perſon, ſuſpended the powers of brother Gineſio Ruiz his proxy.
- Policarpe de Caſteloi, proxy of brother Peter George Pridorfila, prior of Catalonia.
- Lewis Melzi, proxy of brother Frederic Huntd, prior of Ireland.
- Anthony Pontremoli, chaplain of the language of Provence, proxy of brother Arteman, prior of Hungary.
- Eberard, baron d'Eſtain, proxy of brother Theodore Rolman, prior of Denmark.
- Don John de Zuniga, proxy of don Bernardin de Zuniga, prior of Caſtile and Leon.

Proxies of the capitular bailiffs.

BROTH.

- John Baptiſte Calderari, proxy of the eminent cardinal Cornaro, great commander of Cyprus.

Baldaſſar

BROTHER
- Baldaſſar de Marzilla, proxy of brother Lapert de Arbiza bailiff of Caſpe.
- Francis de Godoi, proxy of brother don Diego de Guzman bailiff of Lora.
- Joachim de Challemaiſon, proxy of brother James de Chenu de Bellai, bailiff of Armenia.
- Gabriel Dorin de Ligny, lieutenant and proxy of brother James du Liege-Charault, treaſurer-general.
- Don Lewis de Cardenas, proxy of the illuſtrious bailiff brother Caraffa.
- Gaſpard de Maiſonſeule, proxy of the bailiff brother Achilles d'Eſtampes Valençay.

Proxies of the languages.

Of		Brother
Provence,		Francis Bagarris.
Auvergne,		Charles de Fay Gerlande.
France,		Alexander de Grimonval.
Italy,		Octavio Ceoli.
Arragon, Catalonia and Navarre,		Gerome Bardaxi.
Germany,		John James de Welthauſe.
Caſtile and Portugal,		Gabriel d'Angulo.

The order being ſuppreſſed in England, no proxies were named for that language.

Proxies of the commanders of the priories.

Of	Brother
the priory of St. Giles,	Henry de Latis-Entragues.
Toulouſe,	Francis de Crottes de la Menardie.
Auvergne,	Peter Lewis Chantellot, la Cheſe.
France,	Peter de Carvel de Merai.

Of Brother	Champagne,	Joachim de Sennevoi.
	Rome,	Curtius Bombino.
	Lombardy,	Alphonso Caſtel de St. Pierre.
	Venice,	Fiorin Borſo.
	Piſa,	Ugolin Griſoni.
	Barletto,	Gerolamo Zato.
	Meſſina,	Philip Moleti.
	Capua,	Alphonſo Dura.
	the caſtellany of Empoſta,	Peter Marzella.
	Catalonia,	Melchior Dureta
	Navarre,	Francis Torreblanca.
	Germany,	John de Repach.
	Caſtile & Leon,	Alphonſo de Angulo.

Companions of the grand maſter.

	the language of Provence, Brother Girolamo de Merle Beauchamps, cavalcadour of the grand maſter, and brother Peter de Bernana Hornolach.	
Of Brother	Auvergne,	Baldaſſar d'Alben, and brother Foucaud de St. Hilare.
	France,	Adrian deContremoulins, and brother Francis de la Grange.
	Italy,	John Minutolo, and brother Mario Alliata.
	Arragon, Catalonia, and Navarre,	N. N.
	England,	John Baptiſt Macedonio, and brother Stephen del Portico.
	Germany,	Wiliam Henry de Waſperg.
	Caſtile and Portugal,	Gondiſalvo de Albernoz, and brother don Bernardin de Norogua.

THE

THE inquiſitor then preſented a brief from the pope, by which he was named to preſide at the election of the ſixteen commiſſaries appointed to regulate the affairs of the order, but not to have any vote there, to meddle in propoſing any matter, or to ſpeak his ſentiments in any debate. The grand maſter, either out of prudence or policy, ſuffered the chapter to accept this brief, and then they proceeded to the choice of the commiſſaries. There were two for each language.

For

- Provence, — Villanova bailiff of Aquila, and brother Francis Crotte la Menardie.
- Auvergne, — Gerlande, prior of Auvergne, and la Liegue, prior of Lions.
- France, — Boiſrigault, grand hoſpitaller, and brother Gabriel Dorin de Legai.
- Italy, — La Marra, prior of Meſſina, and Gattinara, prior of St. Euphemia.
- Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, — Sans, bailiff of Negrepont, and L'hopital, bailiff of Majorca.
- England, — Seriſſori, the inquiſitor, named, by the pope's orders, brother Peter Lewis Chantelot la Cheſe, of the language of Auvergne, and brother don Juan de Villaroel, of the priory of Caſtile.
- Germany, — The bailiff brother James Chriſtopher Abandlau, and brother Evrard baron de Eſtain.
- Caſtile and Portugal, — Brother Thomas Hozes, lieutenant of the great chancellor, and brother Biagio Brandao.

THE

THE chapter having conſigned over all its authority to theſe ſixteen commiſſaries, they, together with the inquiſitor, retired into the conclave, which was held in the hall of the palace of the tower. The inquiſitor, as has been already obſerved, preſided in it according to the pope's intentions, but had no vote or authority to make any motion. Boiſrigault, the grand hoſpitaller, as being the oldeſt of the ſixteen, propoſed the affairs on which they were to deliberate. Imbroll, prior of the church, in quality of the grand maſter's proxy, Abela the vice-chancellor, and brother Peter Turamini, ſecretary to the treaſury, interveened in this aſſembly, in which very prudent regulations were made for determining the general and particular affairs that came before them. There has been no chapter held ſince this time, and therefore the judgments given, and the regulations made in this, ſerve at this day for a law, and are the rule for deciding of any diſputes that may ariſe in the order.

THE order loſes the galley of St. John, which is wrecked by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Calabria.

1632. The crew ſave themſelves on ſhore, and they afterwards get out the artillery and the principal effects.

THIS year the inhabitants of the iſles of Malta and Goza were numbered, who amounted to 51750, including men, women and children, and excluſive of the knights of the order, the clergy, and thoſe who were called at Malta, the Familiares of the inquiſition.

BROTHER Imbroll, prior of the church, offers the order to write an hiſtory, when leave is given him to ſearch into the regiſters of the chancery. The year following cardinal Barberini recommended another to the order for the ſame purpoſe, viz. the chevalier brother Ceſar Mugalotti, who was admirably well qualified for it, and a perſon of great learning. Both of them began their work, but left it imperfect.

The gallies of the order ſail out, towards the end of April, a privateering, under the command of general Valdi, and take, near the iſle of Zante, four ſhips or veſſels

veſſels, with 650 moors or negroes on board, which they were ſending from Barbary to Conſtantinople. The ſame general has another engagement with the corſairs of Tripoli, makes 338 of them ſlaves, and delivers 60 Chriſtians. The Venetians make heavy complaints that the gallies of the order take prizes in the ſeas, and upon the demeſnes of the republic. The Malteſe embaſſador, by the grand maſter's order, anſwers them, that the order would be willing enough to deliver back the grand ſeignior's ſubjects who had been taken in the gulph, but that as for the corſairs, they ſhould be ſold as villains and enemies to all religions and all nations. Another ſquabble with the republic of Lucca, which is followed with a decree againſt receiving any of that ſtate as chevaliers de juſtice: the pope makes up the diſpute.

ADVENTURES of prince Guchia, who pretended to be ſon to Mahomet III. and whom his mother, who was of the houſe of Comneni, and a Chriſtian by birth, had ſent to be educated among the Chriſtians. The order eſpouſes this real or pretended prince.

THE ſchiſmatical Greek Chriſtians of the eaſt bribe the Turks, and turn the European Franciſcans out of the keeping of the holy ſepulchre, Calvary, Bethlehem, and other ſacred places of Paleſtine. The pope deſires the grand maſter and council, as better acquainted with the diſpoſition of the Ottoman court, to take meaſures for reſtoring the Latin friars to the guardianſhip of the holy places. The grand maſter and his council are of opinion, that they ſhould try what force could do, and not ſpare the ſchiſmatical Greeks whenever they fell into the hands of any catholic princes.

THE pope's too great uneaſineſs in granting the great croſs to ſuch as were no more than private knights, makes the order reſolve to oppoſe the brief which he had granted to the chevalier de Souvré, though his father had been governor to king Lewis XIII.

DEATH of the grand maſter de Paule, in the 58th year of his age, after a ſickneſs of near three months: his epitaph contains his encomium and his character. 1636. June 10th.

"Fratri

" Fratri Antonio de Paula, magno militiæ hierosolymitanæ magistro, principi gratissimo, splendidissimo, qui, ob egregias animi dotes, vivens in omnibus sui amorem, extinctus desiderium excitavit; pacem mirifice coluit & affluentiam; ordinis vires, opes addidit, auxit: ampliori munire vallo urbem aggressus cum annum ageret magisterii decimum quartum, ætatis supra octogesimum (quintum) diuturno cum morbo constanter conflictus, semper se ipso major piissimè ac religiosissimè quievit in Domino, septimo id. Junii, anno Sal. 1636."

PAUL LASCARIS CASTELARD.

THE 13th of June 1636, brother Paul Lascaris Castelard, bailiff of Manosque, descended from the courts of Vintimiglia, and the antient emperors of Constantinople, was chose successor to Anthony de Paul. The next day the council, according to the usual custom, declared the new grand master sovereign of the isles of Malta and Goza, with all the rights his predecessors had enjoyed.

MALTA suffers much from the dearness of corn. The grand master applies to the president of Sicily, who is hard-hearted enough to refuse the suffering of any to be exported out of the island. Nari, general of the gallies, addresses himself to the vice-roy of Naples, who allows him to take up 6000 loads, and carry them away, free of all manner of custom, and duty of exportation.

LASCARIS has a quantity of new species coined, in order to pay the workmen who were continually employed in raising new fortifications, under the direction of Florian an engineer, colonel of a regiment of foot, whom the grand master honoured with the cross and habit of the order.

BROTHER don Peter de Vintimiglia, of the same family with the grand master, makes a foundation for ever of the timber of a galley, bearing the name of St. Peter, and, for the security of it, settles two houses, of a thousand crowns a year, which he had upon the mole of Messina. Cavar[illegible], prior of Venice, makes the

the like foundation for another galley, which was to be called the St. Nicholas; and the commander Conrard Scheifurt de Merode founds the commandry of Breſlaw in the language of Germany.

THE grand maſter divides all the inhabitants of Malta into companies, to whom they give arms: ſome knights are ſet over them to inſtruct them how to make uſe of them to oppoſe the inroads and deſcents of the Turks and corſairs.

THE duke of Montalta, viceroy of Sicily, the preſident, and the reſt of the king of Spain's officers, are ſtill exaſperated againſt the order, 1637. and not only prohibit the exportation of corn, but give orders for arreſting all the Malteſe ſhips that ſhould put into the ports of the iſland. The occaſion of their uneaſineſs was, that as the two crowns of France and Spain were at war, ſome French knights, who were on board either ſhips or gallies of France, had taken conſiderable prizes at the entrance of the harbour of Malta. Upon theſe orders of the regency, two gallies of the order putting into the port of Syracuſe, they were going to ſeize them: but the commodore being aware of their deſign, put off immediately, and went out of the harbour. The governor, or the commanding officer, fired all the cannon of the caſtle upon him, to oblige him to come back; but he, in ſpite of his artillery, got out to ſea, and returned to Malta. This behaviour of the Spaniards, who had continual proofs of the ſervices which the knights did their prince for the defence of his dominions, offended all Europe; and it was ſaid, particularly in the courts of Italy, that the gallies of Malta had never been cannonaded before, but by the corſairs and infidels. The duke of Montalto, fearing leſt theſe reports ſhould reach his maſter's ear, or that the grand maſter ſhould complain to him, as he had juſt reaſon to do, thought fit to diſown the conduct of the governor of Syracuſe, and to condemn his proceedings, and, to give a more ſubſtantial ſatisfaction for what had been done, promiſed to allow the exportation of corn to Malta.

THE

THE commander de Talembach, of the language of Germany, offers the order to fit out a galley at his own expence: the propoſal was very agreeable to the council, but the war ſpreading more and more in Germany, Talembach's propoſal came to nothing.

THE commandry of Sarraſine is founded in Sicily, and the founder complimented with the privilege of wearing the habit of the order, and enjoying the profits of his commandry during his life.

SOME French knights lie, with a naval force, in the channel of Malta, and take ſeveral
1638. prizes from the Spaniards, during the war between the two crowns. Captain Paul, a ſerving brother, and a Frenchman horn, takes an Algerine veſſel in the ſame place, carries it into Malta, and is well received there. But the grand maſter forbids him and all the knights to fight againſt any Chriſtian prince, and writes about it to the king of France in very ſtrong terms, repreſenting to him, that ſome knights on board his gallies had juſt taken ſome Sicilian ſhips, which had interrupted the neceſſary commerce between the iſles of Sicily and Malta, and had exaſperated the king of Spain's miniſters, who gave out that all this was done in concert with the council of the order.

THE commander de Charolt, general of the gallies, goes a cruiſing, takes ſeveral little veſſels at firſt, and lights upon three large ſhips of Tripoli, that ſerved for a convoy to a great number of other veſſels. The Malteſe general, without amuſing himſelf with cannonading them, prepares to lay them on board, and divides his gallies. The admiral galley, and the St. Peter, under the command of the chevalier John Jerome de Gallean Chateauneuf, fell upon the commodore galley of the infidels. The St. Nicholas and the Victoria, commanded by brother John Baptiſte Caracciolo, and brother John Brandao, attack the admiral. The St. Ubaldeſque and St. Anthony, commanded by brother Bartholomew Galiley, and brother Francis Talhult, ſet upon the vice-admiral. The engagement was bloody, and the infidels made a brave defence.

Four

Four hundred and fifty Turkiſh ſoldiers were on board this little fleet, which was commanded by Ibrahim Rais, called la Becaſſe, a renegado of Marſeilles, who, for a long time, had ſerved in quality of a pilot on board the gallies of the order, and whoſe wife and children were ſtill at Malta.

BUT he having been taken by the corſairs of Tripoli had turned Mahometan, had ſerved on board the infidel fleets, and, by his valour and capacity, raiſed himſelf to the poſt of admiral. Chateauneuf, who commanded the St. Peter, laid him aboard, and Marcel de Chateauneuf, the captain's brother, is the firſt who enters his ſhip, at the head of a good number of knights; he cuts the Turkiſh ſoldiers to pieces, ſeizes la Becaſſe, drags and carries him to Galean de Chateauneuf his brother, under whom he had formerly ſerved as a pilot. The other commanders had as good ſucceſs; ſo that all the little fleet was taken, and not ſo much as a ſingle veſſel eſcaped. They made 312 ſlaves, and the general of the gallies returns victorious into the harbour of Malta with twenty ſhips and veſſels laden with a rich booty. The order loſt ſeveral very brave knights in this engagement, and, among others, brother Denis of Vionteſſancourt, brother Bernard Perrot of Malmaiſon, brother David Sanbolin, a novice, and brother Nicholas of Biencourt, a ſerving brother, all of the language of France; brother Francis Iſnard, brother Piolomini, and brother Philibert Gattinara, of the language of Italy; brother Alonſo Garzez of Marcilli, an Arragonian novice; and brother Gaſpard of Souſa, a Portugueſe. A much greater number of knights were wounded, they never failing to expoſe themſelves without the leaſt reſerve on ſuch occaſions.

BALAGU, biſhop of Malta, to make his clergy more numerous, gave the tonſure, and the four leſſer orders, to all ſuch young fellows in Malta as preſented themſelves for that purpoſe. Theſe new eccleſiaſtics thought their tonſure was ſufficient to diſpenſe them from appearing in the companies in which they were enliſted, from mounting the guard in their turns, and

from performing the other military functions to which the grand master had obliged the inhabitants. The king of Spain and pope Urban VIII. blame the bishop's conduct, and condemn the pretended ecclesiastics to the tonsure, and to wear the habit of their order, and to serve in the church agreeable to that function as there might be occasion for them, and ordered that all such of them as should be taken without their clerical habits, should be obliged to mount guard in the same manner as the other lay-inhabitants.

POPE Urban VIII. who had no affection for the order, but, on the contrary, resolved to subvert the government of it, grants leave, without the privity of the grand master, to the old commanders to make their wills, and dispose of their effects. A step calculated for the utter ruin of the treasury of the order, which, by this permission, is deprived of their personal estates.

SIXTEEN Algerine gallies join together to make a descent in the Marca d'Ancona, and plunder the rich treasure of our lady of Loretto.

CAPELLO, admiral of the Venetian fleet, meets and pursues them; they fly into the port of la Valone, belonging to the grand seignior, where the Venetian admiral burns them without respect to their asylum *. This raises the grand seignior's resentment, who threatens to fall upon them; but he is at last pacified with a a sum of money.

SOME knights, who were just come to be their own masters, mask themselves in carnival time, in
1639. the habit of Jesuits. The fathers complain of it to the grand master, who orders some of the young men to be arrested, but their comrades break open the prison-doors, and set them at liberty. Upon this they all go in a body to the college, throw the furniture through the windows, and force the grand master to consent to their being sent out of the island. Eleven Jesuits were put on board, four only staid behind, who had hid themselves in the city of la Valette. The council and the great crosses did not discover any great

* Amurat IV.

great concern at the baniſhment of theſe fathers, who, in oppoſition to their intereſt, had taken upon themſelves to govern the grand maſters.

THE foundation of two commandries; that of Nardo by Lewis Anthony de Maſſa, for the language of Italy; and that of Nice, by the grand maſter, for the language of Provence.

THE prince of Heſſe d'Armſtat, general of the gallies, takes ſix veſſels of the corſairs in the port of Goletta. 1640.

A YEAR fatal to the order by continuation of the wars between the Chriſtian princes. The treaſury had not received ſo much as a ſingle crown from Germany for twenty years together. Moſt of the French and Italian commandries were ruined; the exchange ran very high amongſt them; ſo that a crown, which was worth 13 or 14 tarins, would hardly produce eleven upon exchange, which obliged the grand maſter and council to take up 100,000 ducats of the bank of Genoa at intereſt, in order to carry on the fortifications of the iſland.

NEW diſputes with the Venetians, who, as uſual, ſequeſtrate the eſtates of the order. 1641.

ULADISLAUS IV. king of Poland, writes to the grand maſter, and pretends that the commandries of Bohemia ought to be common to the Poliſh knights as well as to thoſe of Bohemia, ſince both priories were of the ſame language.

WAR of the Barberini againſt the duke of Parma, in which they, under pretence of his debts, wanted to ſeize upon the dukedom of Caſtro. 1642.

URBAN VIII. finding that ſeveral Italian princes had entered into a league to prevent his ſeizing on the dominions of the duke of Parma, requires the grand maſter to ſend him the gallies of the order. His commands are immediately obeyed; but the allies ſeize, in revenge, upon all the eſtates of the order within their territories, and cannot be prevailed upon to take off the ſequeſtration till the order ſhews them, that notwithſtanding they had been 1643.

forced to comply with the orders of the pope, their *first superior, nevertheless the commanders of the gallies had private orders to be only on the defensive, agreeable to their institution,* which obliged them to *offer no insult to any Christian prince,* and which they *had always observed.*

A MEMORABLE action of general Boisbaudran, who exposes himself to be surrounded by eight cor-
1644. sair gallies, rather than abandon one belonging to the order, which, by reason of the weakness of its crew, was not in a condition to keep up with him.

THE season being still favourable for keeping out at sea, the grand master sent the gallies again a cruising. On the 28th of September, the knights discovered, about 70 miles from Rhodes, a ship to the leeward, not above four miles from them. The commodore being nearest immediately gave her chace: the St. John and St. Joseph soon came up with her, and, seeing her prepare for a vigorous defence, and that she made a furious fire with her great and small shot, the knights grapple with her, board her sword in hand, and force the infidels to throw down their arms, and cry for quarter.

THREE other gallies, viz. the St. Laurence, commanded by Raphael Cotoner, the St. Mary, by the chevalier de Piancour, and the victory by the chevalier Noel de Villegagnon Chanforest, meet with a great galion, which, in order to draw on the knights, conceals her strength, and makes no parade with her artillery.

THE St. Mary, whose crew was in the best condition, was up with her before the two others; when, without considering the great disproportion there is between a single galley and a vessel of so vast a bulk, the chevalier de Piancour, who commanded her, went to lay her aboard, upon which the other gallies advance to succour him. The infidels, seeing their captain and principal officers killed, struck, after an engagement which had lasted seven hours, and in which the order

lost

loſt nine knights, viz. Boisbaudran the general, Piancour, captain of the St. Mary, the chevalier Camillo Schotti, brother Sebaſtian Bertonmonbai, Charles Morans of St. Mark, brother Robert and Nicholas of Boufiers, and brother Stephen of Algre, all knights probationers, and brother Severin Richard of Allemand, a ſerving brother; but a much greater number of them were wounded. The Turks loſt 609 men, beſides a conſiderable number who were taken priſoners, and among the reſt a lady of the ſeraglio, who was going out of devotion to Mecca, with a young child, the reputed ſon of the grand ſeignior Ibrahim, who afterwards entered into the order of St. Dominic, where he went by the name of father Ottoman. The booty was ſo great, that it reimburſed the treaſury for all the expence the order had been at in fitting out its ſquadrons.

IBRAHIM, hearing of the taking of this great galion, together with all the riches that were on board, ſends a herald to declare war againſt the grand maſter and the order. 1645.

GREAT preparations made by the order to put itſelf in a condition to oppoſe the formidable power of the grand ſeignior. Succours, ammunition, and proviſions are ſent for from all quarters. A glorious and ever memorable action of Lewis vicomte of Arpajon, a nobleman of the firſt quality in France, who obliges all his vaſſals to take up arms; raiſes a body of 2000 men at his own expence; loads ſeveral veſſels with ammunition and proviſions, and ſets ſail with them, together with a good number of gentlemen, who were either his friends or relations; arrives at Malta, and preſents the grand maſter with a ſuccour, which was ſo very conſiderable, that the like could hardly have been expected from a ſovereign prince. The grand maſter thought he could not better acknowledge a ſervice of this importance, than by making him general of the troops, with the power of naming three lieutenant-generals to command under him in thoſe places where he could not be preſent himſelf.

THE event ſhewed that the grand ſeignior's threatning of Malta was no more than a falſe alarm: but he invaded the iſle of Candia, beſieged and took Canea. All his naval and land forces, his mighty fleets and conſiderable armies, fell upon that iſland. Malta, now freed from any danger of an attack, ſends a ſquadron to ſuccour the beſieged. The viſcount of Arpajon takes leave of the grand maſter, who, in order to acknowledge the ſuccour he had ſo generouſly brought them, ſigns a bull in form, with the conſent of the council, granting him and his eldeſt ſon the privilege of wearing the gold croſs of the order, and declaring that any one of his younger ſons, or his deſcendants, ſhould be received, during their minority, into the order without paying any fees, and be honoured with the great croſs as ſoon as ever they ſhould have made their profeſſion; and that the chief and eldeſt branch of the family might quarter the croſs in their coat of arms.

THE pope, at the king of Spain's requeſt, deſires the grand maſter to give the great croſs to
1646. don Philip, ſon to the king of Tunis, who was turned Chriſtian. The council oppoſe it vigorouſly, from the averſion they had of ſeeing a moor, whoſe converſion was much to be ſuſpected, fill up one of the firſt dignities of the order.

BROTHER Jey, marſhal of the order, is named general of the gallies, but refuſes that poſt, from
1647. the conſideration that his dignity of marſhal gave him a right of commanding by ſea as well as by land. But embarking afterwards, in order to join the Venetian fleet, he meets an Algerine corſair in the channel of Malta, near cape Paſſaro; an engagement enſues, in which the marſhal is ſhot with a muſket ball, of which he dies.

MASSANELLO raiſes a very dangerous ſedition in Naples.

THE adventures of Jacaya, a real or pretended prince of the Ottoman houſe; his letters to the grand maſter. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy endeavours to engage the order to declare in his favour, notwithſtanding the

the uncertainty of his pretenſions. The grand maſter excuſes himſelf, becauſe, as he ſaid, it would be impoſſible to bring his deſigns to bear, or to ſupport his pretended right to the throne of Conſtantinople, without the concurrence of the greateſt princes of Europe.

POPE Innocent X, in prejudice of the privileges of the order, confers the commandry of Parma upon young Maldachino, nephew to Donna Olimpia, his holineſs's ſiſter-in-law. The order ſends embaſſadors to all the princes of Chriſtendom to complain of this injuſtice, and to repreſent to them, that the order would be diſabled from fitting out any ſquadrons againſt the infidels, if it ſhould be ſtripped in this manner of its beſt commandries.

DEATH of the chevalier de Guiſe, who was killed in trying a cannon.

THE treaties of Munſter and Oſnaburg deprive the order of a good number of commandries to beſtow them on the proteſtant princes of Germany.

A FAMINE in the iſland of Malta. Cinqmars, commander of the St. Francis galley, meets a Flemiſh ſhip laden with 2000 load of corn, juſt purchaſed in Puglia: the maſter refuſes to ſell it to the grand maſter; but a ſudden ſtorm forces him to put into the harbour of Malta, where he ſells his corn to the great ſatisfaction of the people. 1648.

THE gallies of the order, after ſcouring the Levant ſeas, come back, and put into the port of Meſſina. The magiſtrates of the city, from the apprehenſions they were under leſt theſe gallies ſhould, in their return to Malta, ſeize upon ſome merchant ſhips which were coming that way loaden with corn, lay an embargo on the St. Joſeph galley, commanded by don John di Bichi of the language of Italy, by way of hoſtage; but ſuffers the other three gallies, commanded by captains of the language of France, to go out of their port. Theſe officers deliver the grand maſter a letter from the magiſtrates of Meſſina, by which they tell him, that the only reaſon of their laying an embargo on the St.

Joſeph

Joſeph galley, was in order to employ it in quelling an inſurrection of the people, who ſuffered exceedingly from the dearth of corn. The grand maſter anſwers, that he is willing to believe they have no direct intention to offend the order, by an embargo which was ſo highly injurious to it; but that they do a great injury to Chriſtendom in preventing the gallies from returning to Candia to the ſuccour of the Venetians. However, the grand maſter ſends to the port of Auguſta for corn, which the magiſtrates of that town were ready to furniſh the order with.

THE famine increaſes at Malta: there is no wheaten bread to be had, not even ſo much as for the infirmary; ſo that the knights are forced to live on barley bread. They ſend every where for corn; but the captains of the veſſels of the order are forbid to touch at the ports of Meſſina and Palermo.

THE grand ſeignior Ibrahim is ſtrangled in an inſurrection of the janizaries, and they place Mahomet IV. his eldeſt ſon, on the throne

CASSEIN, the Turkiſh general, purſues the war in Candia with great vigour, notwithſtanding the revolutions which had happened in the empire.

A GREAT diſpute carried on in the court of Rome, between the grand maſter and Imbroll prior of the church. This prior, who was a ſeditious man, pretended to have a right, by virtue of his own authority, and without the grand maſter's conſent, to convene an Aſſembly of the brother chaplains, as if thoſe ſerving brothers as wells as himſelf, were not dependant on the grand maſter. The ſecond point in diſpute was this prior's pretending that he only had a right, independently from the grand maſter, of viſiting the nuns of the order, and appointing them confeſſors. The grand affair in queſtion was, to get the pope to confirm the two volumes of the ſtatutes of the order, which that prior had compiled, and which he was ſuſpected to have modelled according to his own private views, to the prejudice of the ſupreme and lawful authority of the ſuperiors of the order.

THE

THE battle of Foggia, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, in which the Venetians defeat the Turks, and take and burn a good number of their ſhips. 1649.

CONTINUATION of the ſiege of Candia, which is defended by Mocenigo captain general, Moroſini proveditor, the governor of the place, and the commander Balbiano general of the gallies of Malta, who being a man of very great experience, was for that reaſon called to all the councils of war. There was a debate at this time, about an half moon at the baſtion of Betlem, which the Turks had taken, and thereby put the reſt of the place in danger. This affair was canvaſſed in the council, when the commander Balbiano offered to recover the works; and, in order to effect it, he put himſelf at the head of thirty knights, and an hundred of the braveſt ſoldiers of his galley, commanded by the chevalier de Sales, nephew to the famous Sir Francis de Sales biſhop of Geneva. The attack is made in the night: the knights in the dark get upon the half-moon and kill all before them. The Turks wake in a ſurpriſe, but ſtand their ground and fight at firſt with vigour: but being too few to oppoſe the knights, they are forced at laſt to fly, to leap over the parapet, and abandon the half-moon.

THE Turkiſh general makes them the moſt heavy reproaches for their cowardice; they are aſhamed of having quitted their poſt, and, in order to recover their honour, return the next morning in greater numbers. Caſſein, to facilitate their ſucceſs, ſprings a mine, which blows up ſeveral knights, and, among others, the chevalier de Sales. This knight falls back into the mine, where he is buried to the middle; but being dug out he perfects his lodgement, and gives the Turks ſuch a warm reception that they are not fond of renewing the attack.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaſury was at ſo low an ebb, and that a grievous famine infeſted the iſle of Malta, the grand maſter builds fort St. Agatha on the coaſt of Meleca, and ſupplies it with arms, proviſions and

and a good body of knights, in order to oppose any descent of the corsairs on that side.

THE governors of Sicily, not satisfied with having refused the order liberty to export corn from
1650. thence to supply the isle of Malta, refuse likewise to allow them to have any bisket made for their gallies, under pretence that it would be a prejudice to the subjects of his catholic majesty. The grand master sends an embassador to don John of Austria, who interposes with his authority, and removes these obstacles.

FOUNDATION of a library at Malta, and a statute made providing that all the books which shall be found in the personal estates of any of the knights, shall not be sold like their other effects, but shall be transported to Malta.

THE discontent of the king of Spain's ministers in Sicily against the order is renewed, on occasion of the continual seizures which the French made of the Sicilian and Spanish ships; most of the French vessels being commanded by knights of that nation; which hinders the gallies of the order from being supplied with provisions from Sicily.

SETERAL prizes made by the gallies of the order near cape Bon. Among others an English
1651. vessel is taken, with a cargo on board belonging to the infidels. They here make thirty-two prisoners, among whom is Mahomet Ben Thesi, son to the king of Fez and Morrocco, a youth of twenty-one years of age. Upon their return from this cruising, the gallies of the order, and those of the pope, join the Venetian fleet.

THE Spanish ministers and governors in Sicily, incensed more and more at the continual prizes
1651. made by French vessels, most of which were commanded by knights of that country, order all the estates of the order in that kingdom to be sequestrated, and issue out a prohibition against supplying Malta with any provisions, or suffering

any

any Malteſe veſſels, to put into the ports of the iſland.

THE grand maſter and council, ſurpriſed at theſe rigorous orders, endeavour to pacify the king of Spain, and accordingly iſſue out a general prohibition, by which all the knights are forbid going on board any ſhips that were to act againſt Chriſtian princes: and the agents of the order at the court of France make freſh inſtances, that the French ſhips may not come and attack thoſe of Spain in the channel of Malta, and off of the coaſt of Sicily. They likewiſe ſent expreſs orders to all the governors in the ports of Malta to keep off the rovers, and not ſuffer them to put into the ports of the order, as happened afterwards to the chevalier de la Carte, who, after a ſmart engagement off of Goza, offering to put into the road of Marza Sirocco, was fired upon by the batteries planted there, and forced to tack about; which coming to the knowledge of don John of Auſtria, the king of Spain's generaliſſimo, he took off the ſequeſtration and opened a free commerce between Malta and Sicily.

THE crew of the Malteſe gallies, being very much weakened by the many voyages they were obliged to make into Candia, the pope being informed of the difficulty the order had to fit out a ſquadron for want of ſlaves, made the grand maſter a preſent of 250.

THEY build a ſeventh galley at Malta. 1652.

THE order makes a purchaſe of the iſle of St. Chriſtopher in America; for which they were obliged to the chevalier de Poincy. He commanded in that iſland; but the property of it was veſted in a company of French merchants, under the protection of the crown of France. He had built a caſtle there, which he fortified like a citadel, and had ſeveral veſſels for the defence of the iſland againſt the attempts of pirates. His enemies dreading his power, conſpired to ruin him, or at leaſt turn him out of his government. Our knight, having notice of their evil deſigns, writes to the grand maſter on that ſubject, and tells him that his

effects

effects were very considerable, but that if he should die in the island, they would be seized on, either by the company of merchants or by his own enemies; and therefore he desired they would send him a knight or two to supply his place in case of his death, that the order might not be defrauded of what he left behind him. The grand master referred the care of this affair to brother Charles Huault de Montmagni receiver of the priory of France, giving him at the same time an express commission, as procurator general of the order, to go over to the isles of Amerrica that held of the crown of France, and a power of chusing some other knight to be his companion in the voyage, and supply his stead in case he died.

THE grand master did not stop here; but being fully satisfied of the good intentions of the chevalier de Poincy, who acted in all this affair only for the good of the order, he wrote to the bailiff de Souvré, his embassador at the court of France, and directed him to use his endeavours with the king to gain two points that seemed to him to be of great importance; the first was to interpose his royal authority to put a stop to the enterprises of Patrocles de Thoiffy, the chief of the opposite party, and a mortal enemy to the commander de Poincy; the other article was to purchase the rights of the proprietors of the island, and to get if he could Gaudaloupe, Martinico, and other neighbouring isles, comprehended in the purchase.

THIS negotiation was carried on by the bailiff de Souvré with all imaginable dexterity, and the island of St. Christophers was sold to the order by a contract made at Paris, and ratified at Malta. This conveyance was made on two conditions; the first was, that the order should engage to pay all the debts which the company of merchants, who were the proprietors, owed to the inhabitants of the island; the second was, that they should pay the sellers the sum of 120,000 livres tournois. In this bargain was comprehended not only the property and lordship of St. Christophers, and the little neighbouring isles, as St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, St. Croix, and some others; but likewise all

all the dwellings, lands, negroes, merchandize ammunition and proviſions, which was afterwards confirmed by the letters patent of king Lewis XIV. granted at Paris in the month of March 1653. After this purchaſe, the grand maſter appointed the chevalier de Sales to aſſiſt with his council the chevalier de Poincy, who was very old, and who died ſoon afterwards. The knight, far from having any perſonal eſtate to enrich the order, left only behind him ſeveral debts, which he had contracted to ſupport himſelf in his government.

THE gallies of the order join the Venetian fleet, and ſail for Candia. Contagious diſtempers deſtroy abundance of the ſoldiers and crew of 1653. the Malteſe ſquadron: the general brings it back in a weak condition. In the midſt of the channel of Malta, he meets three veſſels of Tripoli: they cannonade one another. The Malteſe general, not finding himſelf well enough manned to attempt to board them, ſends to Malta for ſuccours. The convent murmured exceedingly on this occaſion, and ſaid, that the general wanted courage more than force, and that it was the firſt time the gallies of the order had paſſed a whole day in cannonading the enemy's ſhips without laying them aboard; however, the grand maſter ſent out ſeveral gallies, each manned with ten knights, a good number of ſoldiers and ſlaves. But there had riſen a gale of wind in the night that was favourable to the infidels, who had made uſe of it to ſail off; ſo that the next morning when they were preparing to attack them, they found them gone off clear, without their being able to gueſs which way they ſteered their courſe. The ſquadron was obliged to return back into the harbour of Malta, to the great mortification of the grand maſter, who expected to ſee his great nephew that commanded the ſquadron return back crowned with glory and victory.

A GREAT diſpute happens at the entry of the emperor's embaſſador at Madrid, about precedency, between Abbé Icontri the grand duke of Tuſcany's em-

baſſador, and the bailiff brother don Juan de Tordeſillas, embaſſador of the order. The grand duke's embaſſador pretends to precede that of Malta, who oppoſes it with vigour, and preſents a memorial to his Catholic majeſty, wherein he ſhewed, that the miniſters of the order of Malta, had, time out of mind, preceded all ſuch as were not deputed by kings, and who were not allowed to enter when the kings of Spain went to maſs. This diſpute is decided in favour of the embaſſador of Malta.

THE court of France is diſpleaſed at the grand maſter's conduct in having iſſued out orders by
1654. which the king's ſhips were denied the uſe of his ports. A French fleet being in the channel of Malta was attacked by a terrible ſtorm, and offered to put into a port of the iſland for ſhelter. The grand maſter, who was afraid of incenſing the Spaniards, refuſes to let the king's ſhips come in, and fires upon them. The whole court exclaimed againſt the action, and called it high treaſon: and they talk of no leſs than ſeizing all the eſtates of the order within the kingdom, and uniting them to the demeſnes. The grand maſter excuſes himſelf on account of the engagements which his predeceſſors, with the conſent of our kings, had entered into with Charles V. and ſends the deed of conveyance of the iſle of Malta to court; at laſt this affair is made up by the dexterity of the bailiff de Souvré, and the credit of M. de Lomenie ſecretary of ſtate, one of whoſe ſons had been admitted into the order a little before, though he was a minor, and the grand maſter afterwards by way of acknowledgement gave him the commandry of Rochelle.

THE Venetians prevent the Turks from coming out of the Dardanelles. This occaſions an engage-
1655. ment, in which the infidels loſe 14 veſſels, ſeven of which were burnt, two ſtranded, and five taken.

FIVE gallies of the order, coming into the port of Genoa, and ſaluting only the town and the king of Spain's admiral, the G[illegible] order them to be attacked,

ed, the Genoeſe admiral pretending a right to be ſaluted as well as the reſt. The knights refuſed it; whereupon the magiſtrates ſignify to the commodore, that they will fire upon his gallies, and ſink them if he does not comply. The general of the gallies, to ſave his ſquadron, is forced to give them ſatisfaction.

As he goes out of the harbour, he meets a Genoeſe veſſel, and ſends to ſpeak with her. Finding it was no more than a merchant ſhip, he only tears to pieces the flag, which had the arms of the republic on it, till ſuch time as he might meet with, and revenge the inſult that had been offered him, upon ſome gallies or men of war.

A DECREE of the ſupreme council, declaring, that no Genoeſe ſhall be admitted into the order, till ſuch time as ſatisfaction ſhall have been given for the violence which had been committed upon the ſquadron of the order.

THE Malteſe ſquadron goes to join the Venetian fleet, which they meet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, conſiſting of 24 gallies, ſeven galeaſſes, and 28 large ſhips, under the command of Laurence Marcello. The grand ſeignior's armada, commanded by Sinan Baſſa, advances to open the paſſage. A battle enſues between the two fleets; the Turks are defeated by the Chriſtians, who gain a complete victory, and reduce the iſle of Tenedos. But this advantage was bought dear by the death of the Venetian general, who was killed in the engagement by a cannon ſhot.

THE duke of Oſſuna, viceroy of Sicily, dying about this time, the king of Spain appoints brother Martin de Redin, of the language of Arragon, to ſucceed him; he goes from Malta to Sicily to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity.

THEY baptiſe at Malta the young Turk, ſuppoſed to be Ibrahim's ſon beforementioned, and Mehemet Binthefi, who paſſes for the ſon of the king of Fez and Morocco.

THE war of Candia may well enough be ſtiled the war of Malta, the order never failing to put
1657. every year a ſquadron to ſea for the defence of that iſland. This year the gallies of the order joined the Venetian fleet, commanded by Lazaro Mocenigo a noble Venetian, in the channel of Jero. The chief deſign of the Turks was to recover the iſle of Tenedos. With this view, Mehemet the grand viſier kept a great body of troops near the Dardanelles ready to embark, in order to make a deſcent upon it. The Chriſtian fleet coming near the place, and landing ſome troops to take in freſh water, the Turks attacked them, and fell with ſuch fury on a German battalion, that not being able to ſuſtain the charge, they fled, and, falling foul on the other battalions, threw all into diſorder and confuſion. The Turks purſued them to the ſea-ſide, and cut a good number of them to pieces, among which was the chevalier de Teſſancour.

THE Turkiſh fleet appears, conſiſting of 30 gallies, nine galeaſſes, and 18 ſhips, beſides ſaicks and other ſmall veſſels. The commander of it had orders to ſail out of the Dardanelles, and do all that lay in his power to recover the iſle of Tenedos. The pope's gallies join the Chriſtian fleet under the command of the prior de Bichi, to whom the Venetian general gives the precedence, on account of his repreſenting the pope.

ANOTHER ſea-engagement at the Dardanelles between the two fleets. The Turks are defeated. The Venetian general aſcribes the victory to the naval ſkill and valour of the Malteſe ſquadron, and ſends a brigantine on purpoſe to congratulate him on this occaſion. But the general, deſirous of burning ſome Turkiſh gallies, which had retired under the cannon of the fortreſſes, and advancing too far, a ball from one of the caſtles ſet fire to the St. Barbe, which was boarded by the Venetian admiral, and blew it up. The general loſt his life; and of 700 men that were on board, there were but 250 ſaved by the Chriſtian ſaicks that haſtened to their ſuccour. The confederate fleet ſeparates, the

the Malteſe and the pope's gallies return towards the weſt, and the Venetians not being now ſtrong enough to fight the Turkiſh fleet, the infidels beſiege and retake Tenedos.

DEATH of the grand maſter Laſcaris, in the 97th year of his age. The bailiff Laſcaris his great nephew erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of the language of Provence, in the church of the priory of St. John, on which the following epitaph is engraved. 1657. Aug. 14.

D. O. M.

" Hic jacet frater Joannes Paulus de Laſcaris Caſtelard
" M. magiſter & Melitæ princeps, qui naſcendo ab im-
" peratoribus & comitibus Vintimiliæ accepit nobilita-
" tem, vivendo in conſiliis & legationibus fecit amplif-
" ſimam, & moriendo inter omnium lacrymas reddidit
" immortalem. Regnavit annos XXI. inter principes
" fortunatus, erga ſubditos pater patriæ, erga religio-
" nem bene-merentiſſimus, ſeptima triremi quam annuis
" redditibus ſtabilivit, nova commenda quam inſtituit,
" aliis atque aliis ædificiis quæ conſtruxit, tot terrâ
" marique victoriis omnibus celebris, ſoli Deo ſemper
" affixus, obiit die decimâ quartâ Auguſti, anno Domini
" 1657, ætatis ſuæ 97."

AFTER paying the laſt duties to the grand maſter, the convent was to proceed to the choice of a ſucceſſor. There were two potent and formidable factions at Malta. Martin de Redin, prior of Navarre and viceroy of Sicily, was at the head of the firſt; and in his abſence the commander don Antonio Correa Souſa his intimate friend had the management of his party. But there was another party formed called the flying ſquadron, conſiſting of old commanders and great croſſes, who had been principally concerned in the government under the preceeding reign; the inquiſitor of Malta, Redin's enemy, was at the head of this cabal. He, in order to ruin the oppoſite party, preſented a brief from the pope dated the 9th of December 1656,

in which his holineſs ordered him, in caſe of the death of the grand maſter Laſcaris, to declare all ſuch knights deprived of either active or paſſive voice, as ſhould be convicted of having caballed or employed money, promiſes or threats for the election or exclusion of any perſon whatſoever; every ſuch perſon the pope interdicted from a right of voting, as being a wicked and ſimoniacal perſon.

THE inquiſitor propoſed by this declaration to make Redin's election miſcarry; but it had a quite contrary effect. The knights of his party imagined themſelves after this obliged in honour to perſiſt in their firſt diſpoſition. Notwithſtanding all the declarations of the inquiſitor, who ſignified by his ſecretary, that Martin de Redin prior of Navarre was excluded from the election, as being an ambitious perſon, who had employed unworthy expedients to advance himſelf to the grand maſterſhip, this nobleman had a majority of votes, and accordingly was proclaimed grand maſter. Odi, in a rage entered proteſts againſt it. REDIN, to elude the effects of it, ſent the pope an authentic account of his election, declaring to him at the ſame time, that if his holineſs had any exceptions to his perſon, he was ready to renounce it. The pope, who did not care to be ſubſervient to the paſſion of his officer, and was vexed that he had employed his authority in oppoſing a knight that was a miniſter of the king of Spain, and the option of the greateſt part of the knights who eſteemed him, readily approved the grand maſter's election. He drew up a brief for that purpoſe, and ſent it to the inquiſitor with orders to carry it himſelf, and declare to the council, that his holineſs acknowledged Redin for the lawful prince of Malta. Thus the very perſon who had oppoſed his election with the greateſt fury and paſſion, had the mortification to be as it were the herald to proclaim it. The prior de Bichi, nephew to the pope, and general of his gallies, came to Malta, where he waited upon the grand maſter, who conferred upon him the rich commandry of Polizzi in Sicily.

MARTIN DE REDIN.

Sicily. And this nobleman, who was the favourite nephew of his holineſs, having joined his gallies to thoſe of the order, the grand maſter, before he went out of the harbour, made him a preſent of a croſs ſet with diamonds, valued at 1200 crowns.

THE grand maſter's firſt care was to provide for the ſecurity of the iſland, and to prevent the infidels from making deſcents, eſpecially in the night-time. For this end, he built towers all along the coaſt at proper diſtances for the peaſants of each quarter of the country who mounted the guard to retire to, and made a fund out of his own purſe for the ſubſiſtence of ſuch as ſhould be employed in this ſervice, and keep watch in the night-time.

THE pope recalls the inquiſitor Odi, and Caſanatta is put in his ſtead. The grand maſter orders, that whenever a knight who hath only the little croſs, is inveſted with the character of an embaſſador, if there ſhould happen to be any knights who are great croſſes in the ſame court, they ſhall be obliged, for the honour of the order, to attend and wait upon him in all his functions.

THE richeſt commandries become ſucceſſively the prey of the pope's nephews. Alexander VII. gives the commandry of Bologna to Sigiſmund Chigi, and divides that of Frano into three commandries, giving the beſt of them to Charles Chigi.

THE commander de Mandolx is appointed a ſecond time general of the gallies: he puts to ſea with his ſquadron to join that of the pope: he meets 1659. near Auguſta with two brigantines of Barbary, which he takes, and the infidels that were on board them ſerve to recruit his crew of galley-ſlaves which was very much weakened. The two ſquadrons join, and receive, in an iſland of the Archipelago, a letter from the Venetian general, with advice that the grand ſeignior's fleet was retired into the harbour of Rhodes, but was immediately to ſet ſail from thence to go to Conſtantinople, and that if they would come up and join the main fleet, they would have an opportunity of fighting

fighting the infidels, and sharing with him in the glory of their defeat. The two squadrons sailing on, chace three Turkish galliots in their way. One of the three escapes by rowing vigorously; the two others run aground, and one of them is taken. The pope's general seizes upon it, and will needs carry it to Civita-Vecchia, to shew his master that he had been in sight of the enemy. He declares to the general of the order, that he is resolved to return westward. This resolution of retiring surprised Mandolx exceedingly, who could not comprehend the reason of it, and who thereupon broke out into the most heavy complaints upon that account, and indeed in very harsh terms. But nothing could prevail upon the prior of Bichi, who was obstinately resolved to go: the Maltese general does not think proper to separate from him, for fear of exposing the pope's squadron to be attacked by the infidels; so both squadrons steer back to the west, and retire into their respective ports.

THE year following was famous for the peace between the two crowns of France and Spain, to
1660. the inexpressible satisfaction of the grand master and the whole order, who now saw themselves enabled to observe that neutrality between Christian princes, which the order had always professed ever since its foundation.

THE grand master, after having suffered the most racking pains from a stone of four ounces weight, died on the 6th February. His epitaph mentions his services, and contains an account of the several dignities he had filled up.

D. O. M.

" Æternæ memoriæ sacrum M. magistri D. de Redin
" magni Xaverii ob genus propinqui, cujus ante æta-
" tem præmatura virtus Siculæ, deinde Neapolitanæ
" classium præfecturam meruit. Adultus ad summum
" Pontificem & Hispaniarum regem legatus profectus,
" exercitus regios apud Catalaunos & Calicos, cæteros-
" que Hispaniæ populos, summo cum imperio, rexit, in-

" de

" de victoriis, meritis atque annis auctus, ex priore Na-
" varræ atque Siciliæ prorege princeps Melitæ electus,
" inſulam propugnaculis ac turritis ſpeculis, urbes ag-
" geribus, horreis annonâ ac vario belli commeatu in-
" ſtitutis munivit. Ducis Bulloni exemplum ſecutus,
" expeditionis Hieroſolymitanæ principibus Europæ ſe
" ultrò vel ducem vel comitem obtulit. Obiit die ſexta
" Februarii 1660, ætatis 70, imperii tertio.

AFTER the grand maſter's funeral, the convent met, as uſual, to proceed to the choice of his ſucceſſor. The one and twenty electors, having duly weighed the merit and capacity of the candidates, agreed unanimouſly in the election of brother Annet de Clermont de Chattes Geſſon, bailiff of Lyons; and the electing knight proclaimed him grand maſter of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. Two days after, the council acknowledged him as ſovereign prince of the iſles of Malta and Goza. ANNET DE CLERMONT.

THIS title of ſovereign, which reflects an honour upon the families of the knights who are advanced to the grand maſterſhip, was nothing extraordinary in the illuſtrious houſe of Clermont. Their anceſtors, before the treaty made A. D. 1340, between Humbert Dauphin and Ainard de Clermont, enjoyed all the rights of ſovereignty in the dominions they poſſeſſed between Dauphiny and Savoy. We find in hiſtory, that the viſcounts of Clermont levied troops, made war, alliances and treaties, and laid what taxes they pleaſed on their ſubjects before the treaty of 1340. Theſe viſcounts always kept ſtrong garriſons in the towns and caſtles of Chavacert and Sauſſin; places which, at that time, were looked upon as impregnable, and lay both of them upon the river Gué, which divides Savoy from the territories that belonged to the lords of Clermont.

ANNET de Clermont roſe to the grand maſterſhip purely by his virtues. His courage, his piety, a diſtinguiſhing zeal for religion, his good nature and humanity

manity in all his actions, and a moſt engaging and obliging manner of receiving people, made all the knights wiſh for the long continuance of his reign: but providence diſpoſed otherways of him. This great man, who ſeemed to be born to make his order happy, fell ſick three months after his election. Some wounds, which he had received at the ſiege and taking of Mahometa in Barbary, bleeding afreſh, put an end to his life in the 73d year of his age: he died in the arms of his knights, to their great affliction. His epitaph contains his character, and the principal actions of his life.

D. O. M.

"HIC jacet emin. Frater Annetus de Chattes-
"Geſſan, qui à comitibus Clarimontis ortum accepit,
"à pontificibus ſacras claves & tiaram utramque per
"majores in Caliſto 2. ſedis apoſtolicæ acerrimos de-
"fenſores. Hoc uno verè majorum omnium maximus
"quod tiaræ ſupremam coronam adjunxit, creatus ne-
"mine diſcrepante ex bajulivo Lugduni mag. magiſter
"& Melitæ princeps. Eum apicem merita jampridem
"exegerant, vota nunquam præſumpſerant; ſed vir-
"tutes tulerunt ſuffragium, pietas in divinis, pruden-
"tia in humanis, ſuavitas in congreſſu, majeſtas in in-
"ceſſu, mareſcálli integritas, terræ mariſque imperi-
"um; de ſuo nihil ipſe contulit, niſi quod amicis o-
"bedivit. Regnavit ad perennem memoriam vix
"quatuor menſibus: brevis vitæ nulla pars periit:
"primam religioni, ſecundam populo, tertiam ſibi,
"omnem Deo conſecravit. Obiit inter lacrymas et
"vota omnium, die ſecunda Junii 1660, ætatis ſuæ ſep-
"tuageſimo tertio."

TWO days after they had paid the laſt office to the grand maſter de Chattes-Geſſan, the chevalier d'Arfeville, of the language of Auvergne, grand marſhal of the order, and whom the late grand maſter, a few days before his death, had nominated to the poſt of lieutenant-general to the maſterſhip, called a general

aſſembly

aſſembly for the election of a new grand maſter. After the preliminary ceremonies uſed on ſuch occaſions, the languages retired into their reſpective chapels, to chuſe the three perſons who were to vote in the election of a grand maſter, and to pitch upon a fourth voice which was to repreſent the knights of the language of England.

1. THERE were in the language of Caſtile and Portugal, thirty-two perſons that had voices, who elected the chevalier de Ximenes, the great chancellor, Hozes, bailiff of Lora, Barriga, the vice-chancellor; and for the language of England, they named the commander Xelder.

2. THE language of Arragon, in which Catalonia and Navarre are comprehended, had thirty-five perſons that had votes, who elected Bueno, prior of the church, Galdian, prior of Armenia, Raphael Cotoner, adminiſtrator of the bailiwick of Majorca; and for England they choſe Nicholas Cotoner, brother to Raphael.

3. GERMANY had not above twelve perſons that had votes in the convent, and their choice fell upon the grand bailiff of Breſlaw, Oſterhauſſen, grand prior of Denmark, and the commander Oſotiſcki; and for England, they pitched upon the commander de la Tour.

4. THERE were ſeventy-eight perſons that had votes in the language of Italy, who named Sfondrati, bailiff of St. Euphemia, Bondinelli, prior of Aquila, with the prior of Rochelle; and for England, Tancred bailiff of Venuſia.

5. FRANCE had fifty-ſix perſons that had votes, who elected Valençai, grand prior of Champagne, Anthony de Conflans, lieutenant to the grand hoſpitaller, and the commander Gilbert d'Elbene; and for England they named Joachim de Callemaiſon.

6. THERE were eighty-nine knights that had votes in the language of Provence, who choſe Monmejan a great commander, Polaſtron la Hilliere, prior of Toulouſe, ſaint Marc, bailiff of Manoſque; and for England the bailiff de Mandolx.

7. AU-

7. AUVERGNE ſtaid in the nave of the church, near the perſon of the marſhal d'Arfevilliere, on account of his poſt of lieutenant of the maſterſhip. There were thirty-five votes in this language, who named the marſhal de l'Arfevilliere, Gerlande, bailiff of Lyons, with the commander de l'Arfevilliere, brother to the lieutenant; and for England, the commander de la Roche.

INTRIGUE and cabal prevailed very much in this election; and the commander de Valençay, who ſecretly aſpired to this dignity, even during the lifetime of the laſt grand maſter, thought himſelf ſure of nine votes. But when the election came on, there were ſeveral other old commanders who put up as candidates, particularly the marſhal de Arfevilliere, Raphael Cotoner, Monmejan, St. Mark, and Hozez above mentioned, who, though they had their ſeveral parties, yet all agreed to exclude Valençay, whoſe party ſeemed the moſt numerous and formidable.

VALENÇAY, to weaken this cabal, pretended to give up his hopes and pretenſions, and accordingly told the principal leaders of the oppoſite party ſeverally, that he and his nine friends would readily join in their election; which put them upon their guard againſt one another: but Bueno, prior of the church, found out the artifice, and aſſured them that Valençay deſigned only to diſunite them with his inſidious promiſes; and that therefore, in order to ſhew him they were not to be impoſed on, and to exclude him entirely, they ſhould all of them by concert compromiſe their votes, and leave it entirely to ſome one of their party to diſpoſe of them, taking an oath to concur *bona fide* in the election of ſuch perſon among their number as he ſhould judge moſt deſerving of the poſt of grand maſter. Twelve old commanders or great croſſes came into the propoſal, and agreed in naming the great commander Monmejan, a knight highly eſteemed for his probity, to be the perſon to whom they would refer the diſpoſal of their votes. He was far from imitating the grand maſter de Gozon on the like occaſion

occaſion and naming himſelf, but declared in the aſſembly, that he thought they could not make a better choice than of the perſon of Raphael de Cotoner, bailiff of Majorca.

THESE twelve electors, concurring with the nine of Valençay's party, choſe three others out of thoſe that had been named for the language of England, who were the bailiff de Mondolx, Tancred bailiff of Venuſia, and Nicholas Cotoner bailiff of Negrepont. Theſe twenty-four electors choſe brother John Diodati, prior of Venice, to be preſident of the election, the commander brother Denis Ceba, of the language of Italy, to be electing knight, the commander brother Francis Deidié for chaplain of the election, and the commander brother Michael Porruel, of the language of Arragon, for ſerving brother of the election. This election put an end to that of the twenty-four, and theſe laſt having all the power lodged in themſelves, choſe thirteen new electors, which, with them three, made up the number of ſixteen, who were to have the final nomination of the grand maſter.

1. BARRIGA, of the language of Caſtile and Portugal, vice-chancellor of the order, was the firſt perſon elected.

2. THE commander brother Anthony de Glandeve Caſtelet, of the language of Provence, choſe for the language of England.

3. THE commander brother Adrian de Contremolins, of the language of France.

4. THE commander brother Lewis de Fay Gerlande, of the language of Auvergne.

5. THE commander brother Adolfe Frederick de Reede, of the language of Germany.

6. THE commander brother Henry de Villeneuve Torenque, of the language of Provence.

7. THE commander brother John de Forſat, of the language of Auvergne.

8. THE commander brother Henry de la Salle, of the language of France.

9. THE commander brother Francis Ricaſoli, of the language of Italy.

10. THE commander brother Iſidore d'Argaï, of the language of Arragon.

11. THE commander brother don Antonio Correa de Souza, of the language of Caſtile and Portugal, for England.

12. THE commander brother Francis Wratiſlau, of the language of Germany.

13. THE commander don Lewis Kelder, of the language of Caſtile and Portugal.

THE ſixteen electors, after taking the uſual oaths, and ſhutting themſelves up in the conclave, directed the electing knight to go up into the gallery which looks into the church, and proclaim that they had choſe brother DON RAPHAEL COTONER, bailiff of Majorca, to be their grand maſter. Immediately Te Deum was ſung by way of thankſgiving; and all the knights came afterwards to kiſs his hand, and take the oath of obedience, and the next day the council gave him the title of ſovereign prince of the iſles of Malta and Goza.

RAPHAEL COTONER. 1660. June 16.

WE obſerved, under the year 1645, that the Turks, after having threatened the iſle of Malta with a ſudden invaſion, fell with all their force upon that of Candia, which belonged to the ſtate of Venice. St. Theodora was the firſt place they attacked. They carried it without any great reſiſtance, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. They next inveſted Canea, both by ſea and land, and took it after a bloody ſiege, which laſted forty days. The governor ſurrendered upon honourable terms; and the infidels were very punctual in keeping the articles of the capitulation.

THE year following, the Venetian, the Maltese, and the pope's gallies, landed a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of the duke de la Valette. This general, intended to retake Canea, and inveſted it; but the Turks came with a conſiderable body of troops

and

and forced him to raiſe the ſiege. They afterwards took Rhetimo, Muſcava, Melo-potamo and Calamo. Their principal deſign was to beſiege the capital of the iſland; but as they were ſenſible the place was fortified both by art and nature, and that there was a garriſon in it numerous enough for an army, they only built a fort to hinder their incurſions, and to block up the place. This fort they called New Candia, and furniſhed it with a garriſon of 6000 men.

THE two parties carried on the war for ſeveral years with various ſucceſs. The Venetians, finding themſelves preſſed by the formidable power of the Turks, applied to moſt of the European princes for ſuccour; pope Alexander VII. and Raphael Cotoner, grand maſter of Malta, ſent them their gallies. Lewis XIV. king of France, ſent them alſo 3600 men, under the command of a prince of the houſe of Eſt. But this prince being ready to embark, the commander de Gremonville, of an illuſtrious family in Normandy, whom the king named for the prince of Eſt's lieutenant, and the chevalier Paul, a ſerving brother, and one of the ableſt ſea-officers in Europe, were appointed to carry over the troops.

THE duke of Savoy ſent two regiments of foot of 500 men each. The Genoeſe offered a conſiderable ſuccour of men and money, provided the Venetians would treat them as their equals. But as thoſe two republics had, time out of mind, fought againſt one another to determine that nice diſpute, the Venetians were ſo jealous of their ſuperiority, that they refuſed to accept the Genoeſe reinforcement upon that condition.

THE deſign of the Chriſtian generals was to recover the town of Canea; but not having troops enough to beſiege it in form, and to hinder the infidels from throwing ſuccours into it, they reſolved to take ſome forts that were in the hands of the Turks, and to lay in the neighbourhood of Suda. Their firſt attempt was upon the poſt of Sancta Veneranda, which the infantry took by ſtorm. The Turks, at the noiſe of this

attack, advanced that way, and came to an engagement with the battalion of Malta, which repulſed, and put them to flight. They next took Calogero, which the Turks abandoned; and Calanii, which took them up no more time than was neceſſary to adjuſt the capitulation. Apricorno made a better defence: it was a place of difficult acceſs, by reaſon of a narrow way which they muſt neceſſarily paſs through, and which the Turks had, in a manner, ſtopped up, with a prodigious number of trees they had felled for that purpoſe. Some ſquadrons of their troops ſallied out of the place to reconnoitre the forces of the Chriſtians. Garenne, a French officer, at the head of two ſquadrons, charged them briskly, and put them to flight. But ſome Turks obſerving, that he, in his eagerneſs to purſue them, had advanced a conſiderable way before his main body, they turned ſhort upon him, and ſtruck off his head at once with a ſabre. The campaign ended with different ſucceſs on both ſides. The Chriſtians, who beat and were beaten on ſeveral occaſions, retired to Cicalaria, a place covered on one ſide with inacceſſible mountains, and on the other by a wood; and the Turks encamp at Maſeta.

THE 24th of January, of the following year, the general of the gallies of the order met a veſſel
1661. of Tunis off of cape Paſſaro in Sicily, which he took. He made, on this occaſion, 130 ſlaves, among whom was the cadi dey of Tunis's ſon, and a choaoux of the grand ſeignior's, who had been carrying his orders to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and other places on the coaſt of Barbary. Gravié, a ſerving brother, as he was cruiſing near Tripoli, took ſoon afterwards another ſhip of the infidels, with 150 Janizaries on board, deſigned to reinforce the garriſon of Gigibarta, a fortreſs of Barbary.

TOWARDS the middle of April, brother Paul, a ſerving brother, entered the port of Malta, with three of the king of France's gallies, and the grand maſter ſent him a compliment by his ſeneſchal. As ſoon as he landed, he went up to the palace to pay his duty to him,

him, as to his ſuperior; and the grand maſter received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, omitting no teſtimony of that regard which he thought due to the merit and valour of a perſon, who had raiſed himſelf from a private ſea-officer, to the poſt of lieutenant to the lord high admiral of France.

THOUGH the grand maſter was at a very great expence in ſending conſiderable ſuccours to Candia, nevertheleſs, by his good management, there was no want of funds for other purpoſes; of which he did not fail to make a worthy uſe, ſuitable to his natural generoſity, and the magnificence of a great prince. He employed part of them this year in enlarging the infirmary; and, at the ſame time, beautified the church of the priory of St. John with excellent paintings and pictures of devotion, which ſtill remain in that church as a perpetual monument of his piety. In the mean time, the gallies of the order, putting to ſea, joined the pope's ſquadron, which was commanded by the prior de Bichy, near Auguſta; ſailing afterwards into the Archipelago, they met the Venetian fleet near the iſle of Andros, and went together in queſt of that of the Turks. They ſcoured all the ſeas thereabouts; but having no manner of news of it, the allies ſeparated in order to return home. The Malteſe gallies, keeping on their courſe, met, off the coaſt of Calabria, two Barbary galliots of fourteen benches each, which the knights took after a ſlight reſiſtance. This is reckoned to be the year when the ſenate of Venice, in conſideration of the continual ſervices which the republic received from the order, made a decree, by which the knights of Malta were allowed to wear their arms at Venice, and all other places within their territories: a privilege that was not indulged the natural ſubjects of the ſtate.

IN the beginning of the year 1663, the doge uſed great inſtances with the grand maſter to ſend out the gallies of the order. Cotoner thought 1663. at firſt that he, out of reſpect to the holy ſee, ought to wait for the pope's ſquadron; but having advice that his holineſs kept them at Civita-Vecchia,

through the apprehenſions he was under of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's juſt reſentment for the inſult which had been offered the embaſſador of France and his lady by the pope's guard of Corſi, the gallies of the order put to ſea on the 15th of May, under the command of the commander de Breſlaw, and ſailed for the Levant. After ſome prizes of ſmall conſequence, which the general of the gallies ſent to Malta, he joined the Venetian fleet upon the 22d of the ſame month, near the iſle of Andro. George Moroſini, a noble Venetian, was the admiral of it, who told him that the Turks had fitted out no fleet this year, and that therefore he ſhould employ the forces of the allies in cruiſing at ſea, and ſcouring the coaſts of the infidels.

THE grand maſter Cotoner dies of a malignant and contagious fever, which ran over the whole iſland, and was particularly rife in the city of la Valette. He was a prince truly worthy of his dignity, prudent in his conduct, pious in his ſentiments, magnificent in his way of living, and without any view but the defence of the Chriſtians, the ſervice and happineſs of his knights, and the honour of his order. The knights of his language erected a fine monument for him in the chapel of Arragon, and put over him the following epitaph.

Arragonum quicunque tenis Melitenſe ſacellum,
Sacraque ſigna vides, ſiſte viator iter.
Hic ille eſt primus Cotonera è ſtirpe magiſter,
Hic ille eſt Raphaël, conditus ante diem.
Talis erat cervix Melitenſi digna corona:
Tale fuit bello conſiliiſque caput.
Cura, fides, pietas, genius, prudentia, robur,
Tot dederant vitæ pignora cara ſuæ,
Ut dum cœleſtes citius raperetur ad arces,
Ordinis hæc fuerit mors properata dolor.
Qui ne mutatas regni ſentiret habenas,
Germano rerum frena regenda dedit.
Cætera ne quæras, primus de ſtirpe ſecundum
Promeruit: ſatis hoc, perge viator iter.

ON

ON the 23d of October, Bandinelli, prior of Aquila, whom the grand maſter, a few days before his death, had named lieutenant of the maſterſhip, called a general aſſembly of the convent for the election of a new grand maſter: there were in it at this time 293 perſons who had votes. After the preliminary ceremonies, a circumſtance happened in this which never happened before in any former election, which was, that the grand maſter's brother was choſen his ſucceſſor. For though there were not wanting in the order, and even at Malta, ſeveral perſons that might juſtly pretend to this dignity, and who were admirably well qualified for it, yet the merit of the two brothers was ſo generally known, that as ſoon as ever the eldeſt expired, there was an unanimous concurrence of all the voices, of people as well as knights, even before the election came on, in favour of brother NICHOLAS COTONER, bailiff of Majorca; ſo that all the electors, the twenty-one as well as the ſixteen, went into the conclave for form's ſake only, to keep to the letter of the ſtatutes, and immediately afterwards brother don Emmanuel Arrias, vice-chancellor of the order, who was choſe the electing knight, proclaimed him grand maſter: and the next day he was declared in full council ſovereign of the iſles of Malta and Goza. NICHOLAS COTONER.

THE corſairs of Barbary, having carried their Piracies as far as the coaſt of Provence, Lewis the XIV. to repreſs their inſolence, was adviſed to ſettle a colony on the coaſt of Barbary. 1664. and to build a fortreſs, with a port well fortified, for the ſecurity of his ſhips, and ſituated ſo as to be able to give advice from time to time when any ſquadrons of the infidels ſhould put to ſea. The village of Gigeri was propoſed to him for this purpoſe, which lies near the ſea between the towns of Algiers and Bugia, fifteen miles from both of them. Near this village there was an old caſtle built on the top of a mountain and almoſt inacceſſible. The king appointed the duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, to put this project in execution,

cution, and desired the grand master to send the gallies of the order to his assistance. He did so; and accordingly the Maltese squadron joined the king's fleet in Port-Mahon. The Christians landed their troops without opposition, and immediately set to work in laying the foundations of the fort which they had orders to build. The Moors, alarmed at an enterprise which tended to reduce them under subjection, ran to arms, and with their artillery demolished the works that had been begun. The duke of Beaufort detached part of his cavalry to repulse the enemy; but as this body had no infantry to sustain them, and the Moors had notice by their spies that the French were but few in number, they broke into the village sabre in hand, and forced the French to retire to the sea-side. The duke of Beaufort finding he was not able to stand his ground in that country, resolved to embark, but could not do it secretly enough to hinder the Moors from getting notice of it: so that the rear, consisting of 400 men, were most of them either killed or taken prisoners. To make the misfortune still greater, one of the king's ships, called the Moon, which was old, and had ten troops of horse on board, was cast away seven leagues from Toulon; so that this expedition did not prove more successful than that of the emperor Charles V. at the siege of Algiers.

THE continuation of the affair of the commander de Poincy in relation to the isle of St. Christo-
1665. phers, which the order sells to a company of French merchants, who make a settlement there under the king's protection.

THIS year the squadron of the order scoured all the seas of the Archipelago, but took no prizes except a few felucca's laden with corn and merchandize belonging to some Turkish traders. Two vessels commanded by the chevaliers de Crainville and de Temericours were more successful. De Crainville was on board a ship of 40 guns, called the Garden of Holland, which he had taken the year before from an Algerine corsair, though he had only a frigate of 22 guns, on board of which now was Temericours, a young knight of great courage,

courage, who had already ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions. Theſe two knights, who were intimate friends, roved in concert over all the ſeas of the Levant; and in the channel of the iſle of Samos they met a caravan going from Alexandria to Conſtantinople, compoſed of ten ſhips and twelve ſaicks. The number and ſtrength of the enemy ſerved only to inflame the courage of the two knights; they ruſhed into the middle of this little fleet, ſunk ſome veſſels, took four of the richeſt, with two ſmall ones, and put the reſt to flight.

THE ſame year was famous for an action which will immortalize the memory of the chevalier d'Hoquincourt. This gallant commander was in the port of the iſle Dauphine, when he was ſuddenly inveſted by 33 of the grand ſeignior's gallies that were carrying troops to the iſle of Candia. The admiral that commanded the fleet landed all his beſt arquebuſiers, who made a continual fire upon the Malteſe veſſel, at the ſame time that the Turkiſh gallies cannonaded it with all their artillery. The infidels, after mauling the tackling of the veſſel, advanced to board it; ſome attack it at the poop, as others do at the prow. The knight makes head on all ſides, as if he had been invulnerable, though his veſſel was hurt in ſeveral places, and he had loſt abundance of ſoldiers, he yet cleared it of all the Turks that offered to board him, and threw them headlong into the ſea. The Turkiſh general, in a rage at this obſtinate reſiſtance, and aſhamed of the little ſucceſs of his gallies in cloſe fight, ordered them to open their ranks, and leave him a paſſage to come up with the veſſel himſelf. At the ſame time his crew plied their oars, and vigorouſly puſhed forward the admiral galley; but the effort he made threw the Malteſe veſſel clear out of the port, and, a favourable gale ſpringing up, d'Hoquincourt got to the firſt Chriſtian port, after ſinking ſeveral gallies of the Turks, and killing them above 600 ſoldiers.

AN action of ſuch diſtinguiſhed valour and reſolution deſerved a better fate than this gallant knight met with a little

a little after. For he, this very campaign, being on board the ſame veſſel, a ſudden guſt of wind daſhed him againſt a rock near the iſle of Scarpanta. The veſſel was ſhattered to pieces, and the knight was drowned; and the chevalier de Grilles, his particular friend, and 170 ſoldiers or mariners, periſhed in this ſhipwreck.

THE duke of Beaufort great admiral of France, as he is in chace of ſome corſairs of Barbary, arrives in the harbour of Malta; he is ſaluted by all the cannon of the ports, but would not ſee the grand maſter, who refuſed to give him the title of highneſs. A little after M. de la Haye the French embaſſador to the porte, paſſed likewiſe, and put in at Malta.

DEATH of Philip of Auſtria, the fourth of the name, king of Spain, who is ſucceeded by
1666. don Carlos his ſon. This change of ſovereign occaſions a new inveſtiture, which the commander Galdian, general of the gallies, receives in the name of the order from the duke of Sermonetta viceroy of Sicily, and takes the oath of fidelity uſual in ſuch ceremonies.

THE commander d'Elbene, general of the gallies, comes with his ſquadron to Barcelona to convoy the empreſs who was going to the emperor, to whom ſhe was married by proxy. This princeſs, after her landing at Final, wrote a very obliging letter to the grand maſter, to thank him for the good offices ſhe had received from the general of the gallies.

THE pope makes three great croſſes, the firſt of whom was one of his nephews, and the other two were conſiderable officers in his palace.

THE grand viſier Achmet comes with a conſiderable body of troops into Candia, to put an end to the war and ſiege of the capital of the iſland. The Venetians apply as uſual to the pope and the grand maſter; whoſe ſquadrons join near Auguſta, and ſail from thence to the coaſts of Candia, and the iſle of Standia. Francis Moroſini, a noble Venetian, was generaliſſimo of all the Chriſtian army, Antonio Barbaro, another

noble

noble Venetian, was governor of the town, and the marqueſs de Ville, a Piedmonteſe, was commander of the troops in garriſon, all generals of extraordinary valour; and though emulation made them enemies, and jealous of one another's glory, they yet made a gallant defence.

DEATH of Alexander VII. who is ſucceeded by Clement IX.

CLEMENT, purſuant to the poſſeſſion with which his predeceſſors had inveſted themſelves, names the chevalier brother Vincent Roſpigliosi his nephew to the bailiwick of St. Euphemia, vacant by the death of brother Philip Sfondrati. This renews the uneaſineſs and complaints of the language of Italy, which was continually plundered and ſtripped of its rights by theſe papal nominations.

ARTICLES of agreement between the landgrave of Heſſe cardinal and grand prior of Germany, and John de Witte chancellor and penſioner of the province of Holland, with reſpect to ſome eſtates of the order depending on the commandry of Harlem in that province, which the magiſtrates had ſeized on. By this treaty, in which the protection of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and the negotiation of the Comte d'Eſtrades, were of great ſervice, the Dutch engage to pay 150,000 florins to the order, to indemnify them for the eſtates which they had ſeized on in the provinces of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland; and the order, in conſideration of this ſum, renounced all their right to thoſe eſtates, ſaving ſtill to themſelves their right to all the eſtates to which they had a title in the other provinces, with full liberty to ſue for their reſtitution, or get at leaſt an equivalent for them. 1668.

THE marquiſs de Ville, general of the land forces in the iſle of Candia, quits the Venetian ſervice, out of diſguſt of the ill treatment he met with from general Moroſini. The Venetian embaſſador, with the king's leave, propoſes to the marquiſs St. André Montbrun to go over to Candia to command in the ſame quality. The honour of defending a place, for whoſe preſerva-

tion

tion all the princes of Chriſtendom intereſted themſelves, determines the marquiſs of St. Andr to accept the command. He ſets out poſt and goes to Venice, where he embarks, and lands at the port of Tramate in the iſland of Candia on the 21ſt of June.

GENERAL Moroſini gains a victory over the Turks at ſea.

A STRONG ſuccour of French troops arrives in Candia, conſiſting of 7000 men, under the command of the duke de Navailles. The duke of Beaufort great admiral of France commanded the fleet.

THE count of St. Paul brother to the duke of Longueville was at the head of the volunteers,
1669. among whom were the duke of Chateau-Thierry, brother to the duke of Bouillon, the duke of Roannez, and the comte de la Feuillade.

THE order, ever zealous for the defence of the Chriſtians, ſends a battalion of 400 men into Candia, under the command of brother Hector de Fay la Tour Mauburg.

THE count of St. Paul, at his return from Candia, touches at Malta, where he is received with great honours, after having perfomed quarantine in an houſe ſituated at the Bormole.

THE duke of Navailles, when the time fixed by his inſtructions is expired, returns back into France.

THE Malteſe battalion, after loſing abundance of men, think of retiring from a place which in a few days conſumed all the ſuccours that arrived from abroad.

A FLEET of 40 ſhips arrives in Candia with a new reinforcement of 4500 men, moſt of them Germans, among whom were 400 vaſſals of the duke of Brunſwick. Beſides this reinforcement, count Waldeck arrives there at the head of 300 men; and the grand maſter of the Teutonic order ſends a choſen band of 150 men well provided, beſides ſeveral noblemen of different countries who came as volunteers, and fought under the banner of the order.

THE

THE ſieur de Temericourt, eldeſt brother to the chevalier of that name, cruiſing at ſea under the flag of Malta, took a Turkiſh ſhip of 40 guns near the iſle Scarpante, commanded by the corſair Buba Aſſan. He manned it anew, and in company with another veſſel commanded by the chevalier de la Barre, ſailed into the ſeas of Alexandria, where deſcrying two ſultanas laden with merchandize, he advanced to get between them and the harbour. As his veſſel was a better ſailer than his conſort, he fell upon the ſultana which was the fartheſt advanced, and, after pouring in a broad-ſide, prepared to board her, when he received a muſket-ſhot on the head that knocked him down upon the deck, which however did not hinder him from exhorting his officers and ſoldiers to continue the engagement. The infidels, ſeeing it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape from the Chriſtians who had grappled the two ſhips together, deſperately ſet fire to the veſſel in order to make their enemies periſh with them. The chevalier de la Barre, who was on the point of taking the ſecond ſultana, ſeeing the danger his friend was in, quits the ſultana, runs to his ſuccour, and clears him of the veſſel that was on fire. But Temericourt did not live to enjoy his victory, he dying the next day of his wound; and the ſultana, which la Barre was juſt upon the point of taking, made off whilſt he was employed in aſſiſting his friend, and got into the port of Alexandria.

THE grand maſter and the council ſend the commander brother Antonio Correa de Souſa, the grand maſter's gentleman of the horſe, as their embaſſador into Portugal, to compliment don Pedro brother to don Alphonſo king of Portugal, upon his marriage with the queen his brother's wife, and his taking upon him the regency of the kingdom. He was ordered at the ſame time to demand back the grand priory of Crato, vacant by the death of cardinal don Ferdinand infante of Spain. But as the miniſtry of Portugal had got that rich benefice into their hands, they perſuaded the regent, that the nomination and patronage of it was lodged in the crown, and there- 1670.

fore all the anſwer he gave was, that the clearing up of that affair demanded ſome time. However at laſt he gave up the priory to brother don John de Souſa, who had a true right and title to it by a particular grant from the convent.

THE reducing of the iſle of Candia, and the peace which the Venetians had concluded with the Turks, make the grand maſter apprehenſive that they would now turn their arms againſt Malta. To put the iſland in a condition of baffling all their efforts, he, in conjunction with the council, applies to the duke of Savoy, deſiring of him an excellent engineer, Valpergo by name, who comes by his orders to Malta, and gives directions for the raiſing of new fortifications. The firſt was named the Cotonera. The next thing was to add new works to the Floriana, with a fauſſebraye and two bulwarks, one on the ſide of port Meczet, and the other towards the great port: and in order that the entrance of the great port might be completely defended, they built a royal port, called Ricaſoli, from the name of a commander who gave the order 30,000 crowns for that work.

DEATH of pope Clement IX. who is ſucceeded by Clement X. This pontiff writes a brief to
1671. the grand maſter to congratulate him upon the pains he took of fortifying an iſland which ſerved for a bulwark to all the dominions of the Chriſtian princes.

THE chevalier de Vendoſme, in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the old knights, prevails with the pope to grant him an expectative grace upon the grand priory of France. This brief was at laſt regiſtered in the chancery of the order, but upon condition that the new grand prior ſhould make good the mortuary and profits ariſing from the vacancy to the order.

PRINCE Charles of Lorrain, ſon to the duke d'Elbœuf, and Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne duke of Chateau Thierry, ſon to the duke of Bouillon, are received into the order.

THE

THE grand maſter and council finding the number of ſerving brothers too great, make a regulation, forbidding the reception of any more for the future, till ſuch time as new orders ſhould be iſſued out for that purpoſe.

ROME labours under a great dearth of corn: the pope ſends over all Italy to get a ſupply; and cardinal Altieri his nephew writes to the grand maſter in his holineſs's name, and deſires him to ſend the ſquadron of the order to convoy his ſhips. Orders were accordingly diſpatched without loſs of time for that purpoſe to the bailiff de Harcourt, of the houſe of Lorrain, general of the gallies, and to the chevalier de Fovelle Ecrainville, who commanded the admiral-galley. 1672.

THE chevalier de Temericourt, a famous corſair, is attacked by five great veſſels of Tripoli: he defends himſelf with ſo much courage and intrepidity, that after ſhooting the maſts of two of them by the board, and killing abundance of their men, the infidels, deſpairing to take him, tacked about, and left him at liberty to keep on his way: but he was ſoon after caught in a dreadful ſtorm, which drove him upon the coaſt of Barbary, where his veſſel was caſt away, and he himſelf was taken by the Moors, who carried him to Tripoli, and from thence to Adrianople. Mahomet IV. who was there at that time, asked him if he was the perſon that with a ſingle veſſel had fought five of the largeſt of thoſe of Tripoli. "'Twas myſelf, replied the knight. What countryman are you, ſaid the ſultan? A Frenchman, replied Temericourt. You are a deſerter then, ſaid Mahomet, for I am in ſtrict peace with the king of France. I am a Frenchman, ſays Temericourt to him; but, beſides that quality, I am likewiſe a knight of Malta; a profeſſion which obliges me to expoſe my life againſt all the enemies of the Chriſtian faith." The grand ſeignior, deſiring to get him into his ſervice, ſent him at firſt to a priſon, where he was treated with great humanity, and made him all thoſe advantageous offers

that might poſſibly tempt a young warrior who was but 22 years old; and, to encourage him to change his religion, he promiſed to marry him to a princeſs of his blood, and to make him a baſha, or his great admiral. But theſe pompous offers had no effect upon the young knight; he reſiſted them with as much courage and reſolution as he had done their arms. The grand ſeignior, incenſed at his ſteadineſs, reſolved to try if harſh uſage could not ſhake his conſtancy, and accordingly ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon for a fortnight. They there gave him the baſtinado, put him to the torture, and mangled his limbs, during which this noble confeſſor of CHRIST JESUS did nothing but call upon his holy name, and implore his grace that he might die for the confeſſion of it. In fine, the grand ſeignior ordered his head to be cut off; his body was at firſt left at the place of execution; but Mahomet, to prevent any veneration being paid to it by the Chriſtians, ordered it to be thrown into the river which runs by Adrianople.

A DISPUTE between the French commodores and the officers of the order about the ſalute when
1673. they met at ſea: Lewis XIV. pronounces againſt himſelf. This negotiation, which was of a very delicate nature, ſucceeds by the addreſs of the commander de Hautefeuille embaſſador from the order to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

THE mainotes, of the Greek religion, and inhabitants of the mountains of the Morea, implore the grand maſter's aſſiſtance to enable them to throw off the Turkiſh yoke. The ſquadron of the order comes upon their coaſt; but finding them not united among themſelves, ſome of them being for recovering their liberty, and others for continuing ſtill faithful to the Turks, the gallies of the order gave over the enterprize.

IN the year 1618, the duke of Oſtrog a Poliſh nobleman, had, with the conſent of the republic, made the order of Malta heir to all his eſtate. This great family being now extinct by the death of duke Alexander d'Oſtrog,

d'Oſtrog, the chevalier prince de Lubomirski gave immediate advice thereof to the grand maſter. But duke Demetrius the petty-general of the crown, laying claim to the inheritance, under pretence that he had married the ſiſter of duke Alexander, the grand maſter ſent prince Lubomirski a letter of attorney to maintain the rights of the order.

THE admiral brother Paul Raphael Spinola takes three merchant ſhips richly laden, in the gulph of Magra. 1674.

THE viceroy of Sicily applies to the order for ſuccours. The grand maſter immediately ſends him the ſquadron of the gallies. Several great croſſes go on board them, as a teſtimony of their zeal for the king of Spain's ſervice, whoſe ſubjects they were born. In the mean time, the chevalier de Valbelle throws a ſupply of French troops into Meſſina.

THE grand maſter Nicolas Cotoner makes an endowment to maintain the fortreſs of Ricaſoli in the iſland of Malta.

THE king of England declares war againſt the rovers of Tripoli, and his ſhips are well received in the ports of Malta. 1675.

FREDERICK de Mogelin the king of Poland's envoy arrives at Malta, and preſents the grand maſter with a letter from that prince, in which he tells him, that, as his territories were continually infeſted by the Turkiſh forces, he ſhould be exceedingly obliged to him if he would make a diverſion by ſome conſiderable enterpriſe. The grand maſter anſwers him, that by complying with the ſollicitations of his Poliſh majeſty, he would do no more than diſcharge the obligations of his own profeſſion; that the order had always employed their forces againſt the infidels, but that they would now encreaſe their armaments, in order to anſwer the wants and inſtances of his majeſty.

THE viceroy of Sicily endeavours to engage the order, as being a feudatory of that crown, to make war againſt the people of Meſſina. The grand maſter anſwers him, that they are forbid by the very inſtituti-

on of the order ever to concern themſelves in any war between Chriſtians, and that there was nothing of that nature to be found in the deed of infeofment of Malta.

THE poſt-houſe is ſettled at Malta in the fort of Marza-muzet, which the grand maſter Manoel has in our time ſecured with very neceſſary fortifications.

CHARLES II. king of England writes in a very obliging manner to the grand maſter, to thank him for the great civilities he ſhewed to his admiral and his ſhips, which he received into the harbour of Malta.

THE Genoeſe embark ſome troops from the Milaneſe, and tranſport them into the port of Melazzo,
1676. where the gallies of the order were at that time under the command of the bailiff de Spinola, who, out of complaiſance for the viceroy of Sicily, and forgetting the inſult the ſquadron of the order had received in the port of Genoa, conſents that the Patron of that commonwealth ſhould have the poſt of the Patron of Malta: the great affection he had for his country was undoubtedly the motive of his acting in that manner, and perhaps too it might be to make a compliment to Auguſtine Durazzo, commodore of the Genoeſe, who had married Spinola's niece.

A DREADFUL plague at Malta, which deſtroys a great number of knights, and abundance of people.

MALTA being almoſt depopulated, is no longer able to ſupply the ſame number of knights for the
1677. gallies; ſo that in the naval expeditions, where, before the plague broke out, they uſed to have one and twenty knights on board every galley, the number was this year reduced to eleven for the admiral, and nine for the other gallies.

THE dignity of marſhal being now vacant, the commander brother Lewis de Fay Garlande, and brother René de Maiſonſcule, both of the language of Auvergne, of the ſame ſtanding in the order, and who had paſſed through the ſame employments, aſpired to it in oppoſition to each other. After a long diſpute, the grand maſter, and ſome common friends of the two claimants,

finding

finding no way to decide the competitorſhip, perſuaded them to agree, that they ſhall enjoy this dignity alternately, and each have his month.

MAISONSEULE dies two years after this compromiſe. Gerlande being left alone in the poſt, puts to ſea with five gallies, and meets two Algerine corſairs off of cape Paſſaro: but inſtead of laying them aboard, as was the conſtant practice of the knights, he only cannonaded the two corſairs: this made Maiſonſeule be regreted, and occaſioned great complaints at Malta againſt Gerlande, who excuſed himſelf by ſaying that the wind was againſt him. 1678.

CAPTAIN Peter Fleeches, a native of Majorca, meets an Algerine corſair in the ſame place, and ſinks him, but ſaves an hundred Turkiſh ſoldiers, whom he afterwards ſold to the order for an hundred pieces of eight per ſlave.

THE pope is deſirous of putting an end to the diſputes between the order and the republic of Genoa. He ſpeaks to the Malteſe embaſſador upon that ſubject, who, by order of his ſuperiors, told the pope, that the order was all obedience, and that, notwithſtanding the inſult which had been offered by the Genoeſe, it was yet ready to pay a blind and implicit ſubmiſſion to whatever determination his holineſs ſhould think fit to make in the caſe. The pope, not caring to take upon him the deciſion of that affair, it was ſpun out ſome time longer.

DON John of Auſtria, grand prior of Caſtile, being dead, the grand maſter and council deſign to retrench 8000 ducats from the revenue of that rich benefice, in favour of ſeveral perſons: but the king of Spain, who laid claim to the right of patronage of that grand priory oppoſes the curtailing of its revenue.

PEACE concluded between France and Spain by the marriage of Charles II. with the princeſs Maria Louiſa, eldeſt daughter to the duke of Orleans, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's brother. Brother don Juan de Villa Viciuſa goes to compliment his ca- 1679.

tholic

tholic majesty in the grand master's name, and obtain his leave to export a quantity of corn, which arrives at Malta at a time when a famine was beginning to ravage the whole island.

THE grand master, who some years before had been seized with a kind of palsy, is now at-
1680. tacked with very severe fits of the gout and stone. A slow fever steals away from him his strength by insensible degrees, without any way lessening his courage or his vigilance, but a dysentery forces him at last to keep his bed. He appoints brother don Arland Seralte, prior of Catalonia, to be lieutenant of the mastership, and dies with great sentiments of piety on the 29th of April, in the 73d year of his age. This prince, who by his artful management had procured his brother the dignity of grand master, owed his own advancement to his merit only. He kept up his dignity by a superiority of genius, that made him respected by all who approached him: he had an excellent talent at negotiations; was bold in his enterprises, and prudent in the choice of proper means to execute them: he had all his fellow knights for his friends, communicated his designs but to very few among them, and never had a confident. He was buried in the chapel of the language of Arragon, and the following epitaph was put on his tomb.

D. O. M.

" Fratri D. Nicolas Cottoner, magno Hierosolymi-
" tani ordinis magistro, animi magnitudine, consilio,
" munificentiâ, majestate principi, erecto ad Mahometis
" dedecus ex navigii rostris, ac sultanæ prædâ trophæo;
" Melitâ magnificis extructionibus, Templorum nitore
" explicato, munitoque urbis pomœrio, splendidé auctâ;
" cive è pestilentiæ faucibus pene rapto; Hierosoly-
" mitano ordine, cui primus post fratrem præfuit,
" legibus, auctoritate, spoliis amplificato; republica
" difficillimis seculi belli temporibus servata: verè
" magno quod tanti nominis mensuram gestis impleverit,
" pyramidem hanc excelsi testem animi, D. D. C. fama
superstes.

" ſuperſtes. Vixit in magiſterio annos XVI. menſes " VI. obiit 29 Aprilis 1680, ætatis 73. Poſt ejus " obitum, executores teſtamentarii tumultum hunc fieri " mandavere."

THREE days after Cotoner's funeral, they met to chuſe him a ſucceſſor. Parties had been forming during his illneſs, and were ſtill carried on. The treaſurer de Vignacour was ſure of ten votes, and did all he could to engage the Spaniſh language on his ſide, but in vain.

THE electors name the prior of Rochelle, D. Gregory Caraffa, a Neapolitan. This choice was agreeable to all, but eſpecially to the Italians, who, for 128 years before, had not had a grand maſter elected from among their countrymen. GREGORY CARAFFA.

THE new grand maſter applies himſelf diligently to regulate the affairs of the order, and finiſh the fortifications that had been begun by his predeceſſor.

GENERAL Correa returns to Malta with ſix Algerine ſhips, which he had taken, after having run a great riſque of being taken himſelf. 1681.

THE bailiff Colbert ſucceeds Correa in the poſt of general of the gallies of the order.

THE bailiff d'Arrias, who for 24 years had enjoyed the poſt of vice-chancellor, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the diſcharge of it, made a voluntary reſignation of his office to the grand maſter, who, upon the chancellor's preſentation, appointed the commander Carriero a Portugueſe, ſecretary of the treaſury, to ſucceed him. Carriero's poſt is given to the commander Bovio, who was afterward grand prior of England. 1682.

BROTHER Jerom Molina, biſhop of Malta, is tranſlated to the biſhoprick of Lerida. The king of Spain, upon the grand maſter's preſentation, names brother David Coceo Palmieri, a man of admirable probity, to the ſee of Malta.

THE

THE king of France writes to the grand maſter, to notify to him the birth of the duke of Burgundy. Great rejoicings at Malta: the French knights of the three languages diſtinguiſh themſelves by the noble feaſts they make on this occaſion.

THE dukes of Ganfron and Berwick come to Malta. This laſt receives the croſs from the hands of the grand maſter, with the title of grand prior of England.

THE Turks beſiege the city of Vienna with a formidable army. John Sobieski king of Pol-
1683. and, the duke of Lorrain generaliſſimo of the emperor's forces, and the duke of Bavaria join to relieve it: The infidels are beaten in ſeveral engagements, and are at laſt repulſed with ſo much loſs, that they are ſcarce able to repaſs the Danube.

THIS ſucceſs induces pope Innocent XI. to conclude a league with the emperor, the king of Poland, and the ſtate of Venice, againſt the infidels. The grand maſter is deſirous to ſhare in ſuch a laudable engagement, writes about it to the pope, and prepares all is forces to join the confederates. The ſquadron of the order puts to ſea, under the command of the bailiff of St. Stephens, alarms all the coaſt of Barbary, and drives the enemy out of the two iſlands of Preveſa and Santa Maura.

A NEW armament of the order commanded by brother Hector de la Tour Maubourg. The
1685. Venetian fleet, and the pope's gallies join the Malteſe ſquadron at Meſſina. Moroſini, generaliſſimo of the republic, attacks Coron, and takes it after a ſtout reſiſtance from the beſieged. The knights diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſiege, by incredible efforts of valour, particularly by driving the infidels out of a fort which they had recovered from the Venetians. General la Tour is killed in this attack.

1686. FORT St. Elmo is rebuilt, and the caſtle of St. Angelo fortified by the grand maſter's care.

THE knights put to ſea again in the ſpring, under the command of Erbeſtin, grand prior of Hungary,

meet

meet the pope's gallies at Meſſina, and ſail together for the Levant. The Venetian fleet joins them at the iſle of Santa Maura. They beſiege old Navarino, take it, and go from thence to attack new Navarino, a place of great importance, by its ſituation, and the convenience of its harbour, but defended by a ſtrong garriſon. Morofini, after ſome days ſiege, takes it, and advances with his fleet to Modon, a town of greater ſtrength, but forced in like manner to ſurrender: ſeveral knights loſt their lives at theſe ſieges.

THE confederates, encouraged by their good ſucceſs, advance towards Napoli di Romania, the capital of the kingdom of the Morea. They land there on the 30th of July, and lay ſiege to the place; they rout the ſeraſquier three times, as he attempted to relieve it, and take it after a month's ſiege, and a gallant defence made by the beſieged. General Erbeſtein ſets ſail for Malta. Nineteen knights were killed at this ſiege, with a conſiderable number of their ſoldiers.

THE commander don Fortunato Caraffa, the grand maſter's brother, prince John Francis de Medicis, prior of Piſa, brother to the grand duke, and brother Leopold Kolloniſtch, biſhop of Neuſtat, are made cardinals.

NEW preparations are made at Rome for the Levant. The grand maſter fits out eight gallies, under the command of brother Claude de Mechetein. A deſcent in Dalmatia. The three fleets join before Caſtelnuovo, which ſurrenders, and thereby leaves the Venetians entire maſters of all the Adriatic gulph. Pope Innocent XI. writes to the grand maſter to compliment him upon the valour which his knights had ſhewed in this expedition. 1687.

THE duke of Uzeda is made viceroy of Sicily in the ſtead of count de St. Stephen, who, eſcorted by a convoy of Malteſe gallies, goes to take poſſeſſion of the viceroyalty of Naples.

BROTHER don Emmanuel Pinto de Fonſeca is made bailiff of Acre. Brother don Felix Inigo de Aierva quits the poſt of grand conſervator for the bailiwick of Caſpa. Brother Ximenes 1688.

Ximenes de la Fontaza, bailiff of Negrepont, is made grand conſervator, and is ſucceeded in his bailiwick by the great chancellor Correa. Brother don Philip Eſcoveda is made great chancellor. Brother Fabio Gori gets the bailiwick of Venuſia. Brother Feretti, receiver of Venice, is made bailiff of St. Euphemia. The admiral Cavaretta takes the bailiwick of St. Stephens. Averardo de Medicis ſucceeds him in the admiralty, and Spinelli, bailiff of Armenia, is named general of the gallies.

THE ſquadron puts to ſea again in the ſpring, being headed by the commander Mechatein. The
1689. generaliſſimo Moroſini is made doge this year, and ſends out the Venetian fleet. The two armies joining, attack the fort of Negrepont. The ſiege proves long and difficult, and they are obliged to raiſe it at laſt, after having loſt abundance of men, and 29 of the braveſt knights.

THE grand maſter is ſenſibly afflicted at this loſs. His grief, with a retention of urine, which
1690, came upon him at the ſame time, throws him into a fever: he gives away his effects, appoints his ſeneſchal, brother don Charles Caraffa, to be lieutenant of the maſterſhip, and thinks of nothing but another world. He dies on the 21ſt of July, in the 76th year of his age, after having enjoyed the grand maſterſhip nine years and ten months. Never was the humility of a religious united in greater perfection to the virtues of a ſoldier. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner by his love for the poor. His body was carried to the chapel of the language of Italy, where he had cauſed a monument to be erected for himſelf. The epitaph which he himſelf compoſed two years before his death, is ſtill to be read upon it.

D. O. M.

" Fr. D. Gregorius Caraffa Aragonius è principibus
" Roccellæ, magnus Hieroſolymitani ordinis magiſter,
" cui vivere, vitâ peractâ, in votis erat. Quia mortem
" primam qui prævenit, ſecundam evitat; hoc ſibi

" adhuc

" adhuc vivens non mauſoleum, ſed tumulum poſuit re-
" ſurrecturo ſatis. An. Dom. 1688."

THE following inſcription was engraved on the marble under his ſtatue.

" Emeritos venerare cineres, viator. Hic jacet Fr.
" D. Gregorius Caraffa ab Aragonia, M. M. clarus ge-
" nere, genio præclarior. Heroas, quos in nomine
" geſſit, in virtute expreſſit. Effusâ comitate, diffuſis
" triumphis, populos habuit amatores, orbem fecit
" admiratorem. Bis ad Helleſpontum, toties ad Epi-
" rum, Peloponneſum, Illyrium, impertito ductu, præ-
" validâ ope claſſes delevit, regias expugnavit. Mu-
" nificentiâ, pietate princeps laudatiſſimus. Urbem,
" Arces, Portus, Xenodochia, Templa ampliavit, re-
" ſtituit, ornavit. Publico ſemper Religionis bono
" curas impendit & ſtudia. Ærarium ditiſſimo ſpolio
" cumulavit. Obiit die 21 Julii, anno æt. 76. mag.
" 10. ſal. 1690."

NEW cabals for the election. They agree at laſt in favour of brother Adrian de Vignacourt, great treaſurer of the order, nephew to Alef de Vignacourt, who was elected to the ſame dignity in 1601. He takes poſſeſſion of the two iſlands, and ſends the commander Riggio to Palermo to notify his election to the duke of Uzeda, viceroy of Sicily. ADRIAN DE VIGNACOURT.

THE ſquadron returns from the Levant, whither it had been ſent to join the Venetian fleet, and brings the firſt account to Malta of the taking of Valonne, which occaſions great rejoicings.

THE grand maſter, from his great liberality, relieves the preſſing neceſſities of the widows and children of all ſuch of his ſubjects as had been killed in the laſt wars. Several knights follow his example.

THE order maintains a galliot well manned to give chace to the corſairs of Barbary, who were continually roving up and 1691.

down the Sicilian ſea, even to the very channel of the two iſlands.

CARDINAL Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, is choſe pope on the 8th of Auguſt, and takes the name of Innocent the XII.

THE grand maſter erects ſeveral magazines, and adds conſiderable fortifications to all ſuch places as were not in a good condition of defence. In the midſt of theſe employments, which were only intended for the ſecurity of his order, he receives letters from the emperor Leopold I. acquainting him that the Imperial army, commanded by prince Lewis of Baden, had juſt gained ſo complete a victory over the Turks, that 30,000 of them had been killed on the ſpot.

A LARGE and fine arſenal erected at Malta for building of gallies. The miniſters of the court of Rome are for comprehending the eſtates of the order in an extraordinary tax, which the pope was raiſing upon all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. The new pope, of his own accord, exempts them from it, without ſtaying for any remonſtrances from the order; and, by a brief of the 7th of December, renews the permiſſion which his predeceſſors had formerly granted of carrying the holy ſacrament on board the gallies.

THE grand prior of Meſſina, general of the gallies, puts to ſea, and advances towards the coaſt
1692. of Barbary, without finding any opportunity to ſignalize his courage. He ſails for the Levant, joins the pope's gallies at Meſſina, and the Venetian army at Napoli di Romania: all the fleet goes to attack Canea, a place of importance on account of its port, and one of the moſt agreeable cities of the iſle of Candia. After a ſiege of twenty-four days, they are forced to retire, the ſeaſon being too far advanced. The ſquadron of the order returns back to Malta, at the time they were making public rejoicings there for the taking of the fortreſs of great Waradin by the imperial army.

THE marqueſs d'Orville, nephew to Vignacourt, arrives at Malta, where he is received with all the ho-

nours

nours uſually paid to the nephews of the reigning grand maſter.

THE iſle of Malta is greatly terrified on occaſion of a dreadful earthquake which began on the 11th of January, at ten o'clock in the evening, and laſted three days, overturning ſeveral buildings in that ſpace of time. The ſame earthquake deſtroys entirely the town of Agoſta in Sicily. Four gallies arrive from that iſland, and bring the grand maſter an account of this misfortune. He immediately diſpatched away the general of the ſquadron with five gallies to go to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants; orders public prayers all over the iſland, and a faſt of three days to appeaſe the wrath of heaven, and forbids the uſual diverſions of the carnival this year. He after this ſets about repairing the damage which the earthquake had done in Malta. 1693.

SEVERAL veſſels were in want of maſts, rigging, and other things neceſſary for their putting to ſea. The grand maſter ſends for every thing that was wanting to the fleet, and has it brought from Amſterdam. He likeways gives orders for repairing the magazines and the ovens which the order had at Agoſta. The commander Ferrao, who was entruſted with this commiſſion, rebuilds theſe ſtructures with much greater magnificence than before, and puts the arms of Vignacourt over them.

THE grand prior, after coaſting all the iſles of the Archipelago with his ſquadron, returns to the bay of Terra-nova, gives chace to a ſhip of Tunis, and boards it notwithſtanding its being defended by 130 ſoldiers, takes it after ſome reſiſtance, and brings it to Malta. There he finds the grand maſter very much diſpleaſed with him. He was accuſed of having avoided an engagement with three corſairs and a tartan, which he met going to the Levant. The general clears himſelf by proving that he had purſued the enemy briskly till night came on, and reſolved to attack them the next day, but that the corſairs got off in the dark, and he could never get ſight of them afterwards. After a full

examination into the affair, and the taking of depoſitions in form, the general is declared innocent.

A NEW armament under the command of brother Francis Sigiſmund, count of Thun, who was named general in the place of the grand prior of Meſſina. 1694.

TAKING of the town of Scio aftar a week's ſiege.

THE king of France and the duke of Savoy are for raiſing ſubſidies upon the eſtates of the order lying within their territories, under pretence of the exceſſive expence of the war. The grand maſter repreſents to them the privileges of the order, and both the princes deſiſt from their deſign.

THE pope takes upon him the arbitration of the difference between the order and the republic of Genoa, and reconciles thoſe two powers. Several Genoeſe are admitted into the order.

GENERAL Sigiſmund puts to ſea again, and chaſes a ſhip of Tripoli. He takes it after an engage-
1695. ment of two hours, and ſends it to Malta, himſelf ſtill keeping on his courſe towards the Levant. His voyage was entirely uſeleſs, becauſe the Venetians, whom he joined, would not engage in any enterpriſe, under pretence that the ſeaſon was too far advanced.

THE grand maſter's ſickneſs, which occaſions great canvaſſings for the future election, but they
1696. are ſtopped by his recovery. The pope makes the order a preſent of a great number of galley-ſlaves whom he ſends to Malta.

THE grand maſter is ſeized with a violent fever, and prepares for death. He names the bailiff of
1697. Leza don Gaſper Carnero, of the priory of Portugal, to be lieutenant of the maſterſhip, parts with all his effects, and dies on the 4th of February, after having been grand maſter near ſeven years, and lived 79. His piety and innocence of life and converſation, had ever made up a character of this prince. His integrity and his beneficent temper procured him a general eſteem; and he was never liable to any reproach,

proach, but that of having ſuffered himſelf to be governed by ſome favourites who were much more intent upon their own intereſts, that they were on thoſe of the order, or the honour of the perſon who gave them all his confidence. They buried him in the chapel of the language of France, where this epitaph is to be ſeen.

D. O. M.

Eminentiſſimi principis
Fr. Adriani de Vignacourt mortales exuviæ
Sub hoc marmore quieſcunt.
Si generis ſplendorem quæras
Habes in ſolo nomine,
Habes in affinitatibus penè regiis.
Si religioſæ vitæ merita ſpectes,
Charitatem erga pauperes & infirmos indefeſſam,
Erga peſte laborantes generoſam
Mirari poteris.
Et ita intemeratam morum innocentiam,
Ut mori potiùs, quam fædari voluerit.
Magni Aloſſii ex patre nepos,
Integritatis, fortitudinis, & juſtitiæ laude
Simillimus;
Tanti principis famam eſt aſſecutus.
Vixit ſanctiſſimè, ſanctiſſimè obiit,
anno ſalutis 1697.

THE aſſembly for the election of a new grand maſter is held on the 7th of February; the electors are divided into ſeveral factions, but unite at laſt in favour of brother Raimond Perellos de Roccaful, of the language of Arragon, bailiff of Negrepont, and ſixty years of age. Two days after he takes poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the two iſlands; and the 15th he aſſembles the council in order to reform the abuſes that had crept into the order. The popes had frequently yielded to the importunity of ſome ambitious

RAIMOND PERELLOS.

knights, and granted them briefs to be received great croſſes of grace: which made the old knights, when they ſaw themſelves ſupplanted by theſe young men of the recompence due to their ſervices, retire frequently into their own countries; when, thinking they had juſt reaſons to be diſguſted with the order, they became more indifferent to its intereſts, and left their eſtates to their families; an affair, the care of which was of the utmoſt importance to the order. Accordingly they reſolved to write to his holineſs on that ſubject, and to deſire him not to grant for the future any ſuch briefs, which ſtruck at the very foundation of their diſcipline. They likeways made a regulation, by which all ſuch as were profeſſed in the order were forbid to wear any gold or ſilver on their cloaths, and abſolutely prohibited all games of chance. The duke of Veraguas, viceroy of Sicily, who had long ſolicited to obtain a brief in favour of the commander Riggio, receiver of Palermo, for the making of him a grand croſs, continues his inſtances warmly, and ſucceeds in obtaining it, becauſe they found the brief had been diſpatched by Vignacourt.

PEACE concluded at Reſwick between France and Spain. Public rejoicings at Malta upon that
1698. occaſion. Boris Petrowits Seremetef, a near relation of the Czar's, comes to viſit the grand maſter, with letters of recommendation from the pope and the emperor. He is received with all the honour due to his quality and merit.

POPE Innocent XII. puts an end to the diſputes that had continued a long time between the biſhop
1699. of Malta and the prior of the church, with reſpect to their juriſdiction. Both parties ſubmit with joy to the deciſion of the holy father; and the grand maſter, by way of acknowledgement, cauſes his holineſs's ſtatue in braſs to be erected over the great door of the church of Victory, with this inſcription:

"INNOCENTIO XII. optimo & ſanctiſſimo Pontifi-
"ci, diſſidiis compoſitis inter eccleſiaſticum & magi-
"ſtrale

" ſtrale forum exortis, utrique juribus pie ſervatis,
" pluribus commendis liberaliter reſtitutis; Em. &
" Rev. Dom. Fr. D. Raimondus de Perellos Roccaful,
" grato & unanimi omnium voto, tot tantaque beneficia
" æternitati dicavit MDCIC."

THE gallies of the order attack two veſſels of Tunis. The wind ſhifting on a ſudden parts them, and gives the corſairs an opportunity to make their eſcape. The grand maſter and council, having been miſinformed of this accident, and fearing the officers had been wanting in their duty, appoint commiſſioners to examine into the affair, which they perform with the utmoſt care, and clear the officers of all manner of blame.

THE bailiff Spinola general of the ſquadron, embarking on the 15th of February, ſpies a man of war belonging to the enemy off of Sicily, and comes up with her by hard rowing. The admiral-galley which followed him cloſe, having loſt its main-ſail by a guſt of wind. Spinola reſolved to board her. The engagement was bloody on both ſides. The commander Spinola, the general's brother, receives a mortal wound by the grand prior of Meſſina's ſide, who fought leaning upon his valet de chambre, being ſo very old that he could not ſtand unſupported. The valet de chambre is killed, and the prior holds with one hand upon the frame of wood that ſuſtains the compaſs, and continues fighting. Victory was going to declare for the knights when the enemy's ſhip bears with all its force upon the admiral-galley, and ſplits it. A ſouth wind riſes and blows a terrible ſtorm, which diſperſes the ſquadron. The commander Javon, captain of the St. Paul goes to the ſuccour of thoſe who were caſt away in the admiral, and ſaves fifty of them, among whom were general Spinola, the commander Broſia, and the chevalier de St. Germain, and reſolves to ſtay in the ſame place to get off the reſt, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the pilot, who aſſures them they were in great danger: " I ſhall be happy enough, ſays the captain, if I loſe " my life in ſaving but a ſingle man of them." The wind however drove him away in ſpite of all his endeavours.

deavours. Two and twenty knights, and above 500 men, both officers as well as ſoldiers, periſhed either in the engagement or the wreck. The other gallies are driven by the tempeſt towards the Levant; they join again at Anguſta and return to Malta. The grand maſter provides for the ſubſiſtence of the families of ſuch of his ſubjects as had periſhed in this engagement.

PERELLOS had long ſeen with pain, that ever ſince the order had laid aſide their men of war, and had only kept up a ſquadron of gallies, the Barbary corſairs were continually taking the Chriſtian merchant ſhips, making deſcents upon the coaſts of Italy and Spain, plundering the villages, and carrying off from time to time a great number of families into ſlavery.

THE Chriſtians had caſt their eyes for upwards of fourſcore years paſt upon the knights of Malta their old protectors for redreſs, but in vain: there had hitherto been always too many difficulties ſtarted before a ſquadron of men of war could be provided at Malta: but Perellos being in the maſterſhip, and aſſiſted with the advice of the bailiff Zondodari who ſucceeded him, fancied that all theſe obſtacles might be ſurmounted, and brought the council into his meaſures more eaſily than he could have imagined. So that as ſoon as he had raiſed the funds neceſſary for building of men of war, he ſearched through the whole order for a knight who had the moſt skill to inſpect their buildings, and was the beſt qualified to command them. The choice fell upon the chevalier de St. Pierre of Normandy, a captain in the king of France's fleet, who afterwards obtained the commandry of Pieton in the grand maſter's gift for his ſervices. 'Tis to this commander we are indebted for the project to extirpate the corſairs of Barbary, which has been printed abroad among the works of the Abbé de St. Pierre his brother, and had been highly approved of by the grand maſter.

THE St. Paul galley is driven, by a guſt of wind, upon the rocks of the little iſle of Oſtrica near Palermo; and notwithſtanding all that general Javon could do,

he

he was loſt with three knights and 70 men of his crew, the reſt were ſaved by the other gallies.

THE ſquadron returns towards the coaſt of Barbary, and meets the ſultana Binghen, a large ſhip of 80 guns, with three hundred fighting men on board. The engagement was long, and the loſs conſiderable on both ſides; but at laſt the knights had the advantage, and carried the ſhip with them to Malta. The grand maſter ordered the ſtandard of it to be put in the church of St. John at Aix, the birth place of the chevalier Ricard, as a monument of the valour of that knight who had chiefly contributed to the victory. 1701.

DEATH of Charles II. king of Spain. Philip V. ſucceeds him, and confirms all the privileges of the order.

CARDINAL Albani is choſe pope in the room of Innocent XII. and takes the name of Clement XI.

THE ſquadron of the order, advances as far as Goletta, and attacks the infidels in the very port; they carry a large ſhip and a brigantine of the enemy back with them to Malta, having only loſt one knight and four ſoldiers in this expedition.

THE grand prior of England goes to Rome in quality of embaſſador extraordinary, in order to prevail with the pope to make a regulation with regard to the inquiſitor of Malta's pretenſions concerning his juriſdiction. This affair met with ſeveral delays, but was at laſt terminated to the grand maſter's ſatisfaction. 1703.

THE ſquadron of ſhips commanded by the chevalier de St. Pierre ſails towards the Levant, meets three ſhips of Tunis, and gives them chace. The St. James man of war loſes its maſt before the engagement, and goes off. The St. John attacks the enemy's admiral, which carried 50 guns, and had 370 ſailors on board, and takes it whilſt the reſt of the enemy's fleet crowd all the ſail they can to get off. This ſhip was added to the ſquadron of the order, and called the St. Croix, or Holy Croſs. 1706.

THE

THE commander de Langon, carries a convoy of ammunition to Oran, and with a ſingle ſhip
1707. of 50 guns paſſes through the midſt of the Algerine fleet, which fired upon him continually, and throws a ſupply into the place, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the infidels, who fought in the preſence of their king. This action occaſioned his being raiſed ſoon after to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the ſquadron of the order, and commander of the men of war.

THE king of Spain writes to the grand maſter, by which he deſires him to ſend the ſquadron of
1708. the order a ſecond time to the relief of Oran. Preparations are made for it, but not ſent away, becauſe of a report which was ſpread that the infidels had taken the place, and that the grand ſeignior was making a powerful armament.

PERELLOS, in the midſt of his concern at this news, is attacked with the gout and a violent fever.
1709. He receives the ſacrament with great ſentiments of piety, and prepares for death, after having named the grand prior of Meſſina, Tancred de Sienna, to be lieutenant of the maſterſhip. Finding himſelf a little eaſier the next day, he gave brother Alexander Albani the pope's nephew, who was afterwards bailiff of Armenia, the commandry of Viterbo, that was fallen vacant by the death of Rondinelli. He inſenſibly grows better, and recovers his health entirely.

A STRONG report that they are fitting out at Conſtantinople a fleet of 20 ſultana's, 40 gallies, and a great number of little veſſels, and that all theſe preparations are deſigned againſt Malta. The council, not to be taken unprovided, deſire ſuccours of the pope, who immediately diſpatches a tartan laden with powder, and other proviſions neceſſary to ſuſtain a ſiege, with 150 ſoldiers, and a promiſe to ſend a more conſiderable reinforcement as ſoon as poſſible. The commander d'Alegre is ſent to the king of France; the commander de Sannazar to Leghorn; and the com-

mander

mander de Monteclair to Genoa. They all came back with conſiderable forces, and landed at Malta with a grea number of knights who crowded from all parts to contribute to the defence of the order. They name the general officers; they divide the ſoldiers into ſeveral bodies, and muſter near 10,000 men, all of them reſolved to make a gallant defence.

AFTER all, the mighty armament of Conſtantinople, which had made ſo much noiſe, proves to be no more than five ſultana's, which go to join three other ſhips that came out of the ports of Tunis and Tripoli. They are apprehenſive of a deſcent on the iſle of Goza; they tranſport every thing thither that is neceſſary to defend it; and Tancred grand prior of Meſſina, notwithſtanding his great age and infirmities, obtains the grand maſter's leave to go over thither. He conſults with the commander de Langon lieutenant-general, and the commander de Montfort governor of the iſland, about repairing the fortifications, and puts it in a good poſture of defence. But the enemy, deſpairing perhaps of ſucceeding in caſe they ſhould attempt to attack it, only burnt a few little veſſels which they found upon the coaſt, and ſailed back to the Levant.

THE grand maſter makes conſiderable additions to the magazines which his predeceſſor had built, and by that means improves commerce, and brings plenty into his dominions.

UPON the news that four ſultana's were put to ſea with a brigantine in order to make a deſcent in Calabria, the grand maſter ſends out the commander de Florigny with a ſquadron. After ſome days ſail they ſpy a large ſhip, which they know to be the admiral of Tripoli, commanded by the famous corſair Baſſa-Ali-Antulla-Ogli-Stamboli. He had 600 men on board, with 56 guns and 40 patterero's, and was attended by a tartan of 12 guns, 30 patterero's, and 200 men, commanded by Mahmut Ogli Candagli, who was reſolved, notwithſtanding the orders of his general to the contrary, to ſtand the attack of the ſquadron. The commander de Langon who was captain of the St.

James

James, began the engagement with his cannon; the enemy's ſails took fire, and both ſhips were in a flame. The Turks, deſpairing to quench it, plunge into the ſea; the knights ſend out their long boat to their ſuccour, and ſaved 400 of them, among whom was the rais of the admiral of Tripoli, and 50 Chriſtian ſlaves whom they ſet at liberty. The chevalier Pagani de Nocera and five men on board the St. John were loſt.

THE grand maſter ſends for corn to the Levant, and by that means provides againſt a dearth in 1710. Malta, whither the viceroy of Sicily had refuſed for above a year to allow any corn to be exported as uſual.

THE commander de Langon ſails with the ſquadron of ſhips towards the coaſt of Barbary. He meets the admiral of Algiers with 500 men on board, and takes it after a long engagement, in which all the enemy's officers were killed. This victory was fatal to the order by the death of the commander, whoſe valour and admirable qualities occaſioned his being greatly regretted. His body was carried to Carthagena, and buried under the great altar of the cathedral. The grand maſter, to immortalize his memory, ordered a tomb-ſtone to be erected in the nave of the church of St. John, on which the following epitaph was engraved.

D. O. M.

" FRATRI Joſepho de Langon Alverno, cujus virtutem, in ipſo tyrocinii flore maturam, Gallicæ naves
" fecere, Thraces ſenſere, Melitenſes habuere victri-
" cem. Oranum dira obſidione cinctum, cum unica
" religionis navi, cui præerat, onerariam ducens, pe-
" netrata Algerii claſſe, ejuſque rege teſte vel invito,
" militem & commeatum invexit. Generalis claſſium
" præfectus ad tripolitanorum prætoriam incendendam
" plurimo momento fuit. Laudes tamen conſilio &
" fortitudine ſibi ubique coemptas in alias continuo
" tranſtulit. Supremâ tandem Algerii nave ſubactâ,
" acceptoque inde vulnere acerbo, victor fato ceſſit,

" die

" die 18 Aprilis 1710, æt. 41. E. M. M. F. D. R. " de Perellos-Roccaful ad benemerentiæ argumentum, " mortuo, hoc mœrens poſitum voluit Cenotaphium, ad " memoriæ perennitatem."

ATTEMPT of the inquiſitor of Malta upon the infirmary of the order. The tribunal of the inquiſition had been introduced into the iſland by pope Gregory XIII. but with ſo much tenderneſs and caution, that they were ſcarce ſenſible of it. The biſhop of Malta was the firſt perſon inveſted with this commiſſion. Some time after, they put in an officer of the court of Rome, but enjoined him not to do any thing without the concurrence of the grand maſter, the biſhop, the prior of the church, and the vice-chancellor; and he was expreſsly reſtrained from taking cognizance of any crime but that of hereſy. They did not at that time think of oppoſing an authority, the exerciſe of which was lodged in the firſt perſons of the order, nor foreſee that the inquiſitors might in time " [a] make themſelves not only independent but " inſupportable to a body of knights deſcended of the " moſt noble blood of Chriſtendom, and whoſe or- " der is inveſted with a ſovereign power over its ſub- " jects." 1711.

DELCI, who exerciſed the office of inquiſitor in 1711, after having carried his pretenſions ſo high, as to inſiſt that the grand maſter's coach ſhould ſtop when it met his, thought he ought not to ſuffer the infirmary of the order to continue any longer exempt from his juriſdiction. 'Twas the moſt privileged place of the order [b], entruſted to the guard of ſome French knights who were infinitely zealous for their liberty, and ſubject to no authority but that of the grand hoſpitaller. No one elſe, of what quality ſoever, can enter it without

[a] Memorial preſented to Lewis XIV.

[b] The very marſhal of the order cannot go into the infirmary, without leaving his ſtaff of command at the door.

out first leaving the marks of his dignity
Dec. 7. at the door. The officers of the inquisition got in by surprise, and began to make a visitation in form. The commander d'Avernes de Bocage, overseer of the infirmary, upon notice of this attempt, came in great haste to oppose it, turned them out immediately, and entered a protest of nullity against all they might have done in his absence.

THE grand master sends the grand prior Zondodari to Rome as embassador of the order, to give
1712. the pope an account of the unjust pretensions of the inquisitor. The overseer of the infirmary goes himself to France to represent the case to his most Christian majesty, who writes in very warm terms to his holiness upon that subject, and engages him to disown and stop the attempts of his deputy.

BROTHER James de Noailles, embassador of the order in France, dies at Paris in the 59th year
Apr. 22. of his age. The bailiff de la Vieuville succeeds him in that quality, who makes his entry on the 4th of December with all the ceremonies used at the entry of the embassadors of sovereign princes.

THE commander Zondodari, embassador extraordinary at Rome, makes fresh complaints against the inquisitor, for taking upon him the granting of patents to a great number of Maltese to exempt them from the obedience which they owed to their sovereign.

BROTHER Adrian de Langon, captain of the St. Catharine, attacks seven Algerine vessels, puts
1713. them to flight, and takes one called the Half Moon of 40 guns, and manned with 400 men. Thirty-six Christian slaves are delivered on this occasion, and the order loses only seven men in the engagement.

THE pope writes to the grand master to engage him to send the gallies of the order to cruize off of the coast of the ecclesiastical state, where the corsairs of Barbary were continually taking prizes.

THE

THE commander de Langon chaſes an Algerine corſair of 56 guns and 500 men, comes up with him off of the iſles d'Hieres, ſhoots all his maſts by the board in an engagement of ſix hours, and ſinks him when he could not prevail upon him to ſtrike. They could ſave no more than two Chriſtians and ſix Turks of all the crew. 1714.

ANOTHER ſhip of Barbary taken, in which they made 95 ſlaves. Death of the bailiff de la Vieuville embaſſador of the order in France. The bailiff de Meſmes ſucceeds him in his poſt.

THE great preparations made at Conſtantinople give them an alarm at Malta. The grand maſter writes to all the knights to be in a readineſs to ſet out upon the firſt orders; for that purpoſe repairs all the fortifications, and provides all things neceſſary for the defence of the iſland.

THE knights diſperſed over the ſeveral parts of Europe begin to rendezvous in order to ſet out. Some, whoſe advanced age would not ſuffer them to undertake ſuch a journey, remit the revenues of their commandries to the grand maſter, in order to their being employed in the defence of Malta; and others, though diſabled from acting by their great age and infirmities, are reſolved to go and aſſiſt at leaſt with their advice.

THE French knights, not excepting the novices, ſignalize their zeal in taking up conſiderable ſums on their own credit, which they lay out in buying a great quantity of arms and all kinds of ammunition. They ſend this ſupply to Malta, and agree to follow ſoon after. The grand maſter in the mean time takes 150,000 crowns out of the treaſury, and borrows a larger ſum in his own name, employing it all in fetching from different places every thing that was neceſſary to make a vigorous defence: he gets a reinforcement of troops and gallies from the pope, and obtains leave to raiſe men in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. 1715.

WHILST all these preparations were making at Malta to oppose the enemy, an unknown person of a handsome aspect came to offer his service to the grand master in quality of an engineer. His offers were the more readily accepted as he seemed to be well skilled in fortifications. Some knights were appointed to shew him all the works, particularly those of la Valette, upon which he gave them several good hints, and a great idea of his capacity. Two days after he was flown, and whatever search was made after him, they could never find him. They made no question but he was a spy sent by the Turks to observe the condition of the island. This adventure made the grand master think of sending some person on whom he could depend to Constantinople, in order to get a more perfect account of the grand seignior's designs. Andrew Veran, of the town of Arles, who had lived a long time at Malta, offered himself for this commission, and accordingly set out with a vessel laden with merchandize under pretence of trading in the Levant. He first landed at Napoli di Romania the capital of the Morea, where he met with the captain-general of the republic of Venice. He learned from him, that the Turkish armament was increasing every day, but that it seemed to be designed only against the Venetians. Sailing from thence to the Dardanelles, he was informed that the infidels had declared war against the state of Venice. He arrived at Constantinople where he saw the count des Alleurs the French embassador, who took him under his protection, and gave him an exact account of all the designs of the porte.

IN the mean time the knights were arriving at Malta from all quarters, none of them failing to bring some succour along with them. They fitted out a naval force, and the squadron of the order joined that of the pope, that they might be enabled to meet the Ottoman fleet. Veran returned back to Malta; and, by the account he gave of the motions of the Turkish army, they found that either the grand seignior had no design upon that island, or, which was more probable, that he had

had altered his meaſures upon the advice he had received of the good condition it was put in by the grand maſter's care, and the vaſt reſort of knights thither from all parts.

THE republic of Venice deſires ſuccours from the grand maſter againſt the Turks. The order ſends them five men of war and ſome gallies, 1716. which give chace to three corſairs of Barbary, and take one of 54 guns with 500 men on board: they bring it to Malta with four ſaicks laden with all ſorts of proviſions.

DISPUTES between the commanding officers of the auxiliary ſquadrons. The pope puts an end to them by giving the commodore of the Malteſe ſquadron the title of his lieutenant-general.

THE ſquadron of the order takes ſeveral Turkiſh ſhips laden with merchandize, and carries them to Corfu, where the chevalier de Langon, who commanded the pope's ſquadron, gains ſeveral advantages over the infidels.

THE ſhips of the order, with a reinforcement of two frigates and ſome light veſſels, put to ſea again to join the allies. A Malteſe privateer 1717. ſinks a large Turkiſh ſhip and ſaves part of the crew.

A SEA engagement between the auxiliary troops and the Turks near the iſle of Stags. The infidels, whoſe ſhips ſuffered a great deal, fly away after having cannonaded one another for two hours together. The auxiliary troops came off without loſs. The bailiff de Bellefontaine, who commanded the fleet, ſignalized himſelf in an extraordinary manner all this campaign, and was received at his return by the grand maſter with the higheſt marks of diſtinction.

THE ſquadron puts to ſea again, reinforced with the St. John man of war of 70 guns, and goes to join the Venetian fleet. The Turks grow 1718. leſs eager to carry on the war, and the Chriſtian armada finds few opportunities of ſignalizing itſelf this campaign.

THE pope gives the croſs of Malta to the king of Poland's natural ſon. The ſquadron of the
1719. order make a conſiderable prize in the Archipelago, where they take two gallies richly laden from Conſtantinople, on one of which the baſha of Romelia with all his family was going to Napoli di Romania.

THE chevalier Fraguier, firſt enſign of the grand maſter's company of guards, brings his moſt Chriſtian majeſty a preſent of birds of prey, a preſent which the grand maſters are uſed to make to the king of France.

THE chevalier d'Orleans takes the oaths before the king for the grand priory of France, which
1720. was vacant upon the voluntary reſignation of the grand prior de Vendôme.

THE grand maſter Raimond Perellos de Rocaful, being worn out with his great age, and a fit of ſickneſs, which had been upon him upwards of a year, dies after a reign of 22 years. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his liberality to ſuch families as had been ruined by the infidels; made conſiderable improvements in the fortifications of the iſland, and omitted nothing he thought might any way contribute to ſupport the luſtre and glory of his order.

THE electors being aſſembled with the uſual ceremonies, chuſe the bailiff MARC ANTONIO ZONDODARI for their grand maſter. He was a native of Sienna, and highly worthy of the maſterſhip on account of his perſonal merit and his illuſtrious birth. The rejoicings made on this occaſion are heightened by the taking of two large corſairs of Barbary, which were brought at the ſame time into the harbour. This ſucceſs is ſoon after followed by the taking of the admiral of Algiers, a ſhip of 80 guns, and 500 men on board.

MARC ANTONIO ZONDODARI.

THE bailiff Ruffo is made general of the gallies of the order. The grand maſter obtains a brief from the pope, to oblige all ſuch knights as had upwards of

300 l.

300 l. annual income, to maintain every one a ſoldier at his own expence for the ſecurity of the iſland; but it does not appear that this brief was ever put in execution.

THE ſquadron which the grand maſter had granted the king of Spain to guard his coaſts, puts to ſea under the command of the bailiff de Lan- 1721. gon, and chaſes a galliot of Barbary that was cruiſing off of the coaſt of Sardinia. They cannot come up with her, but take a pink which ſhe had made a prize of a little before. The St. John man of war, of which the commodore was on board, meets, ſome days afterwards, with an Algerine veſſel of 40 guns, comes up with her, and takes her after an hour's engagement. Twenty Chriſtian ſlaves were delivered, and 260 infidels made ſlaves. A few days after, they meet the ſquadron of Tunis, conſiſting of the admiral, the Patrone, and the Porcupine. The two firſt get off in the night, after a long and ſmart engagement; but the Porcupine was forced to ſtrike, after having ſtood it out againſt all the five till ten at night. They deliver thirty-two Chriſtians, who were ſlaves in this ſhip. This ſucceſs, which was owing to the valour of captain Algonis de la Grois, caſts ſuch a terror over all the coaſt of Barbary, that no corſair dares ſtir out to cruiſe.

DON Carlo Conti, prince of Poli, nephew to the pope, receives the croſs of the order from the 1722. hands of cardinal Pamphileo, grand prior of Rome.

THE grand maſter, who had been attacked for upwards of ſix months with a kind of gangrene in his bowels, dies on the 16th of June, at the age of 63 years 7 months and 15 days. This prince, who was highly eſtimable for his ſingular piety, took great care to fortify the iſland, was exceeding charitable, maintained a regularity of diſcipline in his order, as much by his example as his authority, and wanted nothing but a longer reign to anſwer in every reſpect the great hopes conceived of him.

BRO-

BROTHER don Raimond d'Eſpong, bailiff of Negropont, lieutenant of the maſterſhip, calls the council together; and, after the uſual ceremonies, the electors agreed unanimouſly in the choice of d'Anthony Emanuel de Vilhena, a Portugueſe, of the language of Caſtile, to be their grand maſter. His birth, his perſonal virtues, and his perfect knowledge of the rules and maxims of the order, made him truly worthy of this promotion. He had paſſed through all the dignities of the order, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in them all. He had hardly finiſhed his caravans when he was made captain of the admiral galley, and was wounded in an engagement with two Tripoli ſhips, which general Antonio Correa de Souſa took in 1680. Four years after he was made captain of one of the men of war, which the order ſent to aſſiſt the Venetians in the conqueſt of the Morea. They made him ſucceſſively major, and then colonel of the country militia. In 1692 he had the command of the 8th galley, and the year following that of the St. Anthony. He was made great croſs of grace in 1696, commiſſary of the navy two years afterwards, and commiſſary of war in 1701. The dignity of great chancellor of the order was conferred upon him in 1713. He quitted it three years after to take that of bailiff d'Acre; was choſe one of the 21 electors for the election of the grand maſter Zondodari, and the ſame year was made procurator of the treaſury. Theſe ſeveral poſts, in all of which he behaved himſelf to the infinite ſatisfaction of the order in general, were ſo many ſteps to raiſe him to the maſterſhip.

D'ANTHONY EMANUEL DE VILHENA.

THE new grand maſter's firſt care was to put the iſland in a ſtate of defence againſt the invaſion with which the Turks ſtill threatened it. He built fort Emmanuel on the little iſle of Marſa-mouſſet, which the infidels might have eaſily ſeized on, and would thereby have greatly facilitated their ſucceſs. He likeways ordered

ordered all ſuch knights as were 19 years of age to repair to him.

THE grand ſeignior's great preparations againſt the order were made at the inſtance of a ſlave, called Hali, whom Mahomet Effendi, his embaſſador in France, had redeemed as he paſſed by Malta. This ſlave, who was beloved by the knights, and in favour with the grand maſter, had ſerved in the navy, and had been for ten years iman or chief of the Turkiſh ſlaves that were at Malta. Upon his return to Conſtantinople, he gave the miniſters of the porte an account of the forces of the order, and perſuaded them that it would be an eaſy matter to ſurpriſe the iſland, by the help of thoſe ſlaves, who were ever prepared for a revolt, and were more in number than the inhabitants: that in order to ſucceed in their attempt, they needed only fit out a ſquadron of ten ſhips, and appear with it before Malta, where the ſlaves would infallibly take arms, and their inſurrection crown them with ſucceſs.

THE project pleaſed the grand vizier. Accordingly commodore Abdi Capitan put to ſea with ten ſhips: Hali embarked likeways with a captain's commiſſion, when they came and preſented themſelves before Malta. But the wiſe precautions the grand maſter had taken rendered the executing of their deſign impracticable. They retired after a few broadſides, and Abdi Capitan ſent the grand maſter the following letter:

"THE firſt man of the iſle of Malta, the heads of "his council, and chiefs of the languages of France, "of Venice, and other nations that adore the Meſſias, "are advertiſed by this letter, that we have been ex- "preſsly ſent by the grand ſeignior, the maſter of the "univerſe, and refuge of the world, to order them to "deliver up to us all ſuch ſlaves as are under their "miſerable government, that they may be preſented "before his ſupreme and auguſt throne. This is his "pleaſure, and his deſign in ſending us with this ſqua- "dron. If you fail to obey, dreadful puniſhments "will make you repent your fault. Send your anſwer "to Tunis."

THIS

THIS ſtile, ſo agreeable to the pride of the grand ſeignior's officers, did not however hinder the grand maſter from anſwering the letter, in hopes that it might be of uſe in procuring the deliverance of ſome Chriſtian ſlaves. The tenor of his letter, which was wrote with politeneſs and dignity, was as follows: "That the deſign of his order was not to ſcour the "ſeas in the view only of making ſlaves, but to cruiſe "with their ſhips for ſecuring the liberty of the ſeas to "all Chriſtian veſſels; that they attacked ſuch only as "diſturbed commerce, and who deſerved to be made "ſlaves for endeavouring to make the Chriſtians ſo: "that they had nothing ſo much at heart as the deli-"very of ſuch of theirs as were in ſlavery, and that if "his highneſs was in the ſame diſpoſition, they were "ready to enter into a treaty for reſtoring the ſlaves "on both ſides to their liberty, either by way of ex-"change or ranſom, as was generally practiſed among "princes; and that if his highneſs would let them "know his intentions, they ſhould not be wanting "on their part to ſecond them."

THIS anſwer was directed to the marquiſs of Bonac, the French embaſſador at Conſtantinople, with
1723. a deſire that he would deliver it to any miniſter of the porte whom he ſhould judge proper. The French embaſſador, judging, by the contents of the letter, and the delicacy with which it was wrote, that the grand maſter's deſign was not ſo much to anſwer the commodore of a ſquadron, as to communicate his intentions to the grand ſeignior himſelf by his firſt miniſter, ſent it to the grand viſier. Some days after he ſpoke to him about it, and was agreeably ſurpriſed to find him diſpoſed not only to make an exchange of ſlaves, but to enter into a treaty of peace with the order of Malta. The marquiſs of Bonac, perſuaded that ſuch a peace would be of great advantage to all Chriſtendom in general, as well as to the order in particular, laboured at it with great application, and prevailed ſo far with the grand vizier, whom he had wrought upon

on by his probity and ſincerity, more than by the ſuperiority of his genius, that all the articles which he propoſed were agreed to. This being done, he ſent them to the grand maſter, and wrote to the court of France, upon the ſame ſubject, which, after a mature examination, ſent him orders to continue his endeavours to bring the affair to a happy concluſion.

THE grand maſter had the propoſals of the porte examined, and ſent his obſervations on them to M. de Bonac. They choſe rather to make a limited truce than a peace; they took all the neceſſary precautions to keep the order from all manner of ſtain or reproach, and the grand vizier agreed to every thing. The articles ſtipulated between them were,

1. THAT the ſlaves ſhould be exchanged on both ſides, and that if there ſhould be more on one ſide than on the other, the ſupernumerary ones ſhould be delivered at the rate of 100 pieces of eight per head.

2. THAT this exchange ſhould extend no further than to ſuch ſlaves only as had been taken by the ſhips of the Malteſe and the grand ſeignior.

3. THAT the truce ſhould continue for 20 years, at the expiration of which time, they might treat for another.

4. THAT the republics of Africa ſhould not be comprehended in the treaty, and that the porte ſhould not give them any ſuccour, either directly or indirectly, againſt Malta.

5. THAT the Malteſe ſhould have the ſame privileges as the French in all the grand ſeignior's dominions.

6. THAT the treaty ſhould be null, whenever any Chriſtian prince ſhould be at war with the porte.

THE news of this treaty was received at Conſtantinople with great applauſe. But the captain baſha, reſenting that an affair which related to the ſea ſhould be treated without firſt conſulting him, engaged all the ſea officers to oppoſe it. They carried their point ſo far as to make the grand vizier change his note, who,

ſeeing

ſeeing their univerſal diſcontent, did not care to carry the negotiation further. However, he told the marquiſs of Bonac, that he had not changed his views, and that it would be an eaſy matter to bring that affair on foot again, by only taking certain meaſures to gain the conſent of the ſea officers, whoſe own intereſt would infallibly oblige them to give into the ſcheme.

DURING this negotiation, the account of which I thought it would not be proper to interrupt, the grand maſter, upon advice that a Tunis man of war was cruiſing in company with a tartan, between the iſles of Marittimo and Panteleria, and had taken two barks, viz. one of Sicily, and the other of Genoa, ſent the St. John man of war, and a frigate, to look out for them. They meet the corſairs, who purſue them for ſome time to reconnoitre them, but afterwards think fit to ſtand off, and endeavour to get from them. The Malteſe frigate comes up with the ſhip; and, after exchanging broadſides for four hours together, forces it to ſtrike. This ſhip was an excellent ſailer, and had been given by the grand ſeignior to the bay of Tripoli, who had made her his patronne. She was mounted with 48 guns, and 14 braſs pattereroes, with 400 men on board, of which no more than 267 Turks ſurvived. Three and thirty Chriſtian ſlaves recover their liberty on this occaſion. This important victory was owing to the valour of the chevalier de Chambray who commanded the frigate. The St. John man of war purſued the tartan and took it, and both the prizes were brought to Malta.

POPE benedict XIII. is deſirous of giving the grand maſter and the order of Malta a diſtinguiſhing mark of his affection. He diſpatches a gentleman of his bed-chamber to Malta, to preſent that prince with a long rapier,* and a helmet which he had conſe-

1725.

crated

* THE rapier is a ſilver ſword gilt, about five foot long. The helmet is a kind of cap of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, and embelliſhed with an holy ghoſt of pearls.

crated at Chriſtmas with great ſolemnity. The preſent is received with all poſſible acknowledgements by the grand maſter, who conſiders it as a new motive to ſignalize himſelf more and more in the practice of all the virtues which have ſo juſtly gained him the reſpect of his brother knights, the friendſhip of the princes of Europe, and the paternal tenderneſs of his holineſs.

A DISSERTATION UPON THE Ancient and Modern GOVERNMENT OF THE Religious and Military ORDER OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

THOUGH an hiſtory of this order ought naturally to give an account of the firſt conſtitutions, ſtatutes, and original form of its government, yet a ſeries of time, and a variety of conjunctures, have inſenſibly occaſioned changes therein, which are unavoidable in the condition of human nature; and it would betray a groſs ignorance of the inconſtancy and weakneſs of mankind, to offer to judge of the preſent conſtitution of a ſtate by its ancient cuſtoms, and the practice of the firſt ages after its eſtabliſhment.

THIS conſideration determined me, for the entire ſatisfaction of the reader, to annex, at the end of this work, a particular diſcourſe upon the preſent ſtate of the order of Malta. I ſhall firſt treat of the ſeveral claſſes into which the order is divided. My next enquiry ſhall be into the proofs of noble deſcent that are required in order to be admitted into the firſt claſs. Afterwards ſhall follow a particular account of the nature

of

of the commandries, and the qualities requiſite to be intitled to them. From thence I ſhall paſs to the dignities which give a right of ſitting either in the general chapter, or in the council, and ſhall add, at the end of this article, a liſt of the principal offices of the order, and of the perſons that have the right of nomination to them: and this treatiſe will conclude with the form obſerved in the election of the grand maſter, a dignity of a ſingular nature, which, whoſoever is inveſted with enjoys an entire ſovereignty, and all the royalties of a prince over the ſecular inhabitants at the ſame time that, with regard to the knight, he is conſidered only as the head and ſuperior of a religious and military republic.

THE church has in its boſom various orders of religious, who, without exerciſing the ſame functions, have all of them their particular merit in the ſight of God, and who, by their variety, contribute, each in his reſpective way, to the ornament and beauty of the church. Some ſequeſtring themſelves voluntarily from the converſation of mankind, buried as it were in ſolitude, and wrapped up in their own virtue, ſpend their days in the contemplation of eternal truths. Others more converſant in the world apply themſelves chiefly to the inſtruction of their neighbour, and contribute to the eaſing the care of paſtors, when called into their aſſiſtance in the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry. There are ſome ſo enflamed with zeal for the converſion of infidels, that they go to the fartheſt parts of the earth to preach the goſpel. The ſame zeal, but acted by a charity of another kind, made a body of gentry, ſome ages ago, take up arms to preſerve the Chriſtians from being made ſlaves by the Mahometans and infidels; and it is of the form of government of this laſt kind of religious, whoſe hiſtory I have juſt concluded, that I am going to give an account of in this place.

ARTICLE I.

Of the ſeveral claſſes of religious in the order of St. John.

THE hoſpitallers, conſidered merely as religious, are divided into three claſſes, all of them different from one another, with reſpect to birth, and rank, and functions. The firſt claſs conſiſts of thoſe whom they call knights of juſtice, i. e. as the formulary of their profeſſion expreſſes it, ſuch, the ancient nobility of whoſe deſcent merits their being admitted to that degree of honour; and none but theſe are qualified to be advanced to the dignities of bailiffs and priors, whom they call grand croſſes, or to that of grand maſter. Time, which is too frequently the author of abuſes and irregularities, has introduced a practice of admitting other perſons into the rank of knights of juſtice, who are not qualified like them, and who are called knights of grace; they being ſuch as being deſcended of fathers of noble extraction, but of mothers of ignoble or plebeian birth, have endeavoured to throw a veil over this notorious defect by a papal diſpenſation.

THE ſecond claſs comprehends the religious who are chaplains, and belonging in that capacity to the metropolitan church of St. John, where they perform divine ſervice. Out of this body they generally take their chaplains, both for the great hoſpital of Malta, and for the ſhips and gallies of the order; and they exerciſe the ſame function in the grand maſter's chapel. Notwithſtanding that, in all the ſtates of Chriſtendom, the clergy have the firſt rank, on account of the dignity of their miniſtry, nevertheleſs the knights, though but mere laymen, take place of the prieſts, and have all the authority in their hands; "quia omnis "poteſtas reſidet in primatibus." We do not find any inſtance of the like government, but among the brothers of the charity, another order of hoſpitallers, where the religious, who are prieſts and miniſters at

the

the altar, are ſo far from having any ſhare in the government, that they are entirely dependent on ſuperiors who are meer laymen.

WHAT they call the third claſs comprehends the ſerving brothers of arms, a body of religious, who, without being either prieſts or knights, are nevertheleſs obliged, whether they are in the field, or in the infirmary, to ſerve under the orders of the knights, and, like them, make four caravans of ſix months each on board the ſhips of the order. This body of half knights, if we may give them that name, was formerly very numerous and conſiderable, and did great ſervices to the order. There were likeways of old a certain number of commandries deſigned for them, which the chaplains and the ſerving brothers of arms ſtill enjoy in common at this day, they falling either to the one or the other according to their ſeniority. But for ſome years paſt, the number of ſerving brothers of arms is very much leſſened, and a decree has been made to ſuſpend the admitting of any more till further orders.

I PASS over the prieſts of obedience, who, without being obliged ever to go to Malta, receive the religious habit, make their vows in form, and are afterwards fixed in the particular ſervice of ſome church of the order, under the authority of a grand prior, or a commander. There are ſtill at Malta ſome ſerving brothers de ſtage, a kind of vaſſals employed in the meaneſt offices of the convent and hoſpitals; details of ſo little conſequence, that I do not think it proper to trouble the reader with them. But this account would be imperfect if I did not ſpeak of the religious dames of this order, of which there are ſeveral nunneries in France, Italy, and Spain. Theſe nuns, before they can be received, are obliged to give the ſame proofs of their noble deſcent as the knights of juſtice: there are even ſome famous nunneries, as that of Sixene in Arragon, and Dalgovera in Catalonia, in which the proofs of

gentility,[a] which would be allowed of for the reception of a knight, would not yet be ſufficient for a nun of the choir; and in thoſe two houſes they inſiſt on ſuch a purity and antiquity of gentility in a lady who offers herſelf, that it exceeds the degrees which the ſtatutes require for the reception of the knights of juſtice.

ARTICLE II.

Of the reception of the brother knights.

IF we take the word chevalerie or chivalry, in the general notion that firſt preſents itſelf, it is a profeſſion of ſerving on horſeback in war, which, among moſt nations, has been always a mark of gentility, to diſtinguiſh perſons of a noble extraction from thoſe of a plebeian birth. The quality of chevalier or knight was in the middle age confined to ſuch noble perſons, as either before or after an engagement, had deſerved to receive the order of chivalry ot knighthood from their general, as a teſtimony and recompence of their valour: and it was generally conferred in the field, by the general's giving them a kiſs, and girding a ſword about them. But this honourable diſtinction was never granted but to martial men, deſcended from antient knights, and of a military extraction, "ad militarem "honorem," ſays the emperor Frederic II. "nullus ac- "cedat, qui non ſit de genere militum." Here are two kinds of knighthood, the one entirely of deſcent, "genus militare;" the other meerly perſonal, "militaris "honos." Theodore Hæping ſpeaks of this latter knighthood, which is to be acquired only by a man's own valour, when he ſays, that no body is born a knight: "nemo eques naſcitur, ſed per habentem poteſtatem "ſolitâ ſub formulâ." So Peter de la Vigne, in his life of the emperor Frederic, above mentioned, ſays ex-

[a] N. B. The word gentility, which is made uſe of in ſeveral places in the tranſlation, is, in the original, nobleſſe or nobility.

expreſsly, "licet generis nobilitas in poſteros deri-
"vetur, non tamen equeſtris dignitas." To prevent confounding theſe two kinds of knighthood, the one which a man derives meerly from his anceſtors, and the other, which he acquires only by his own warlike exploits, ſome hiſtorians of the middle age have employed the term (milites) to ſignify knights who were anceſtors of the perſon they ſpeak of, and uſe that of (eques) only to diſtinguiſh the perſon who actually has received the order of knighthood.

THE knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, in their military inſtitution, kept ſtrictly to this uſage. All the remains we have in France, and in the regiſters of the priories of the three languages of this nation, of the names of the old knights of that order, ſhew plainly that they were all deſcended from warlike anceſtors and gentlemen both by name and the arms they bore. But as in proceſs of time different cuſtoms aroſe, and that every nation fancied they had a right to determine, and even extend the nature of gentility, as well as fix the proofs of it, the chief magiſtracies, and ſeveral civil officers, have obtained in France and Italy the ſame advantages as a gentility wholly military, ſo that in thoſe two nations they actually receive perſons for knights who would be refuſed in Germany. This obliges me to enter into a detail of the different proofs which are required in moſt of the languages to ſhew the nobility of all ſuch preſentees as offer themſelves to be admitted into the order in quality of knights of juſtice: and as the kingdom of France alone comprehends three languages[a], and conſequently furniſhes more knights than any other country, I ſhall give a ſhort account of the different rules which they have obſerved at differtimes in the reception of the knights.

IF we may give credit to perſons who are well skilled in heraldry, the uſe of coats of arms is derived from the cruſades. So many croſſes of different figures, as we ſee in the eſcutcheons of the ancient gentry are a ſufficient proof of this fact: and the colours, the enamels,

[a] Provence, Auvergne, France.

mels, the vaire, and the contrevaire that we meet there, owe their original to the furs which thoſe warriors uſed for an ornament to their coats of arms. The generality of them went to the holy land on purpoſe to receive the order of knighthood; and they thought themſelves more than recompenſed for the perils and fatigues of ſo long a voyage, if in any battle fought againſt the infidels, they had but received the kiſs from a prince or general and been dubbed a knight. The military order, whoſe hiſtory I have been writing, was founded upon the ſame principle, and formed upon the ſame model. They admitted none for knights but ſuch as before their entrance into the order, had either themſelves been graced with that title, or who were at leaſt deſcended of ancient knights: ſo that we may look upon this part of the order of St. John, as a cruſade compoſed entirely of gentry. Anciently Jeruſalem and the holy land were the only places where they received all ſuch knights as dedicated themſelves to this holy order of knighthood. We find, that gentlemen ſent their ſons thither very young to be brought up in the head convent of the order, in hopes that they would be there formed alike for piety, and the art of war; but they never received theſe young gentlemen, unleſs they brought with them an authentic teſtimony of their noble extraction, atteſted by the priors of the country where they were born: and before their ſetting out, theſe priors were likewiſe to give them letters of recommendation, and a promiſe that they ſhould receive the habits of the order, and be admitted to make their vows, as ſoon as ever they came to the ſtatutable age for being made knights, which among the ſeculars was ſettled at the twentieth year. "Nullus" ſays a ſtatute of the order made in 1144, "ex hoſpitali miles "fieri requirat, niſi, antequam habitum religionis aſ- "ſumeret, extiterit ei promiſſum: et tunc quando in "illa erit conſtitutus ætate, in qua ſæcularis officii "miles poſſit fieri: nihilominus tamen filii nobilium in "domo hoſpitali nutriti, cum ad ætatem militarem

"per-

" pervenerint de voluntate magiſtri & præceptoris, " & de conſilio fratrum poterunt militia inſigniri."

WE have already obſerved, that the young knights were at firſt received in no other place but at the head convent of the order; but the recruits they wanted to ſupply the place of ſuch as were continually loſing their lives in fighting againſt the infidels, obliged the chapters and ſupreme councils of the order to conſent, that they might, after the proofs of their gentility had been examined, give the habit to novices in the grand priories on this ſide the ſea; and as the ill practice of contracting unequal marriages with women of mean birth and condition, had not yet crept into noble families, all the atteſtations of the gentility of the preſentee went no farther than the mentioning his father and mother's name, who were juſtly ſuppoſed to be deſcended of gentlemen by name as well as arms. A proof of this may be ſeen in the liſt that will be given at the end of this diſcourſe, when it will appear, that in 1355, the date where the oldeſt regiſters of the grand priory of France begin, they never received any body but gentlemen whoſe names and families were known, and even diſtinguiſhed in their ſeveral provinces.

BUT this very gentry, which till that time had preſerved itſelf unſullied, being reduced to narrow circumſtances by expences that are unavoidable in war, was ſoon forced for their ſupport, to proſtitute as it were their noble blood by contracting marriages below them: and lords and gentlemen by name as well as arms, began to debaſe themſelves in marrying rich plebeians. The fear, leſt theſe unequal matches ſhould bring the order in contempt by the reception of knights deſcend- of them, engaged the whole body to make a regulation, requiring that an authentic inſtrument ſhould be drawn up in writing with legal proofs, to ſhew the legitimacy and deſcent of the perſon preſented; and the like proofs were to be produced with reſpect to his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, great grandfather and great grand mother, for upwards of an hundred years, with a blazon of theſe eight quarters

annexed

annexed to the inſtrument; and the perſon preſented, was likewiſe to prove that his great grandfathers had been generally reputed gentlemen of name as well as arms. This laſt article of the ſtatute is ſtill in force at this day, or is at leaſt kept up in the form of the inſtrument. But the proof of this laſt qualification required with reſpect to the great grandfathers does not ſeem to be very eaſy to be given in France, by knights who have no other ſtem from whence they can derive their gentility, but a petty ſecretary of the king's [a], a gentleman of the town-hall, a mayor or alderman of ſome of thoſe towns which entitle their magiſtrates to the rank of gentlemen: and I cannot poſſibly comprehend how a man, who has no other ſource of his gentility but one of theſe offices, which after all convey it no lower than a grandſon, can be employed in a genealogy in the proofs of a great grandfather as if he was a gentleman by name as well as arms; how he can paſs for a gentleman of ancient race who ſtopped by dint of money only the plebeian blood that was creeping in his veins, and who was never ſeen to draw his ſword in the ſervice of his country. Nor is it leſs difficult to account for, how the quality required in a grand father of being a gentleman by name as well as arms, can ſometimes be applied to a tradeſman who is ennobled by an office in the law, without giving an unnatural and forced interpretation, to that title, and it is very extraordinary to pretend, that a magiſtrate's robe ought to be put upon the ſame level with a warrior's coat of arms, and to annex the privileges of true nobility to that robe.

HOWEVER, notwithſtanding this difficulty, which after all ariſes only from an unwillingneſs to alter any thing in the old ſtile of the ſtatutes, we muſt needs own that they are very exact and ſtrict with reſpect to the proofs which they require of gentility for the eight quarters of the preſentee. Theſe proofs muſt be teſtimonial, literal, local and ſecret, which it will be proper for us to explain in a more particular manner.

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[a] Un noble de la cloche.

THE firſt proof is called teſtimonial, becauſe it ariſes from the teſtimony of four perſons of noble extraction, who ought to be gentlemen of name as well as arms. The commiſſioners, who are generally old commanders, make them take a ſolemn oath to ſpeak the truth, and likewiſe interrogate them ſeparately. If there be any thing that can make this kind of proof ſuſpected it is, that in France, the perſon preſented, or his relations, generally provide theſe witneſſes.

THE ſecond proof is called literal, becauſe it is taken from writings, deeds, contracts, acknowledgements of tenures, and ſurveys which the perſon preſented produces: upon which it may be proper to obſerve, that though marriage, writings, and wills are neceſſary to a full proof of the deſcent and ſtatutableneſs of the perſon preſented, yet theſe kind of writings are not ſufficient to prove his gentility, by reaſon of the opportunity notaries have of furniſhing the parties contracting with any titles and qualities which they pleaſe to beſtow on themſelves, without ever examining whether they are really due to them or not. But in defect of theſe writings, which amount to no more than a bare declaration, without any legal proof, they have recourſe to the partition of lands of a noble tenure, to deeds of guardianſhip, to grants of the wardſhip of lands held in capite, to acts of fealty and homage, to acknowledgements of vaſſalage and ſurveys, to commiſſions, warrants, and grants of poſts and dignities that either imply gentility, or entitle a man to it, to ſummons for attending the king in the field, and laſtly, to monuments, epitaphs, coats of arms, glaſs-windows, and ancient eſcutcheons in churches.

THE third proof is called local, becauſe the commiſſioners are obliged to go to the very place of the perſon's nativity, and when they are deſirous of being exact, they ought to go likewiſe into the country from whence this family came originally, and to the very place whence theſe his anceſtors came who he pretends were gentlemen by name as well as arms; or, if this place is very remote, and lies in another priory, to

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ſend to the prior of that diſtrict to make the enquiries, and take the examinations neceſſary in this caſe.

THE fourth kind of proof is derived from a ſecret enquiry, which the commiſſioners make unknown to the perſon preſented. They do not inſiſt, that the witneſſes ſhould be gentlemen like the four firſt; in this choice, regard is only had to their probity. When theſe four kinds of proofs appear to be ſubſtantial, and conſiſtent with one another, the commiſſioners draw up an inſtrument in form containing an account of them, which is carried to the chapter of the priory; from thence it paſſes into the hands of two new commiſſioners, who examine whether all the rules preſcribed by the ſtatutes have been exactly obſerved in theſe informations; and when it appears that nothing has been omitted, this inſtrument with its proofs, and the blazon of the eight quarters, is ſent to Malta, from whence there comes a warrant to give the habit of the order to the preſentee. We have already obſerved, that with regard to the three languages of the kingdom of France, viz. Provence, Auvergne, and France, the ſtatutes and the preſent practice require that the preſentee prove his great grandfathers by the father and mother's ſide were gentlemen by name as well as arms; which forms, as was before obſerved, the eight quarters of gentility.

IN the language of Italy they are obliged to produce no more than four quarters: but every one of theſe, viz. that of the father and mother, and that of the grand mother by the father and mother's ſide, muſt have a known gentility of 200 years, and it muſt be proved that every one of theſe four families have had the quality of gentlemen for 200 years paſt. In like manner they require only the blazon and the arms of theſe four families, without going, as they do in France, ſo far upwards as the great grandmother. We muſt likewiſe obſerve with regard to the language of Italy, that in the commonwealths of Genoa and Lucca, and the grand duke's territories, traffic, and the trade of banking, are not any way derogatory to a perſon as in the other

other priories of the ſame language, and in all the other languages of the order. We are told that they are not a jot more ſcrupulous upon this article at Rome and all over the pope's dominions, than they are at Genoa and Florence; upon which the following reflection may very well be made, viz. that this is making knights of a very baſe allay.

WITH regard to the languages of Arragon and Caſtile, the candidate is firſt to preſent the names of his four quarters, i. e. of his father and mother, and his grandmothers both by the father and mother's ſide, and to expreſs in his petition the places from whence theſe four families originally came: whereupon the chapter of the priory to which he applies himſelf diſpatch ſome commiſſioners ſecretly to go upon the ſpot, and inform themſelves whether theſe families are reputed noble, and whether they do not deſcend orginally from Jewiſh or Mahometan anceſtors. If the report of theſe ſecret commiſſioners is favourable to the preſentee, they appoint others to take authentic informations from the lords and perſons of the greateſt quality in each quarter: and theſe commiſſioners uſually take all care poſſible to ſurpriſe ſuch as they have a mind to interrogate, that they may not be prepared before-hand. The depoſitions of theſe lords and gentlemen are judged to be ſufficient, and they do not inſiſt on writings or ſettlements as in France. So that all the proof of gentility in the provinces of Spain, conſiſts in informations and interrogatories with reſpect to the four quarters. They however do not fail to viſit the churches where there are any monuments, epitaphs, or other marks of honour of the anceſtors of the preſentee, and to examine whether their coats of arms are the ſame with his. For beſides the authentic proof which they inſiſt on of the religion and gentility of the preſentee from the fourth generation, he is obliged to preſent on a ſheet of paper an eſcutcheon bearing quarterly the arms of the four families which he produces of the proof of his gentility.

WITH regard to Portugal, which makes part of the language of Caſtile, they have no occaſion to take the ſecret and preliminary informations concerning the quality of the families of the four quarters; becauſe, by virtue of an old cuſtom eſtabliſhed by the kings of that nation, the names of all the noble families of the kingdom are carefully preſerved in public regiſters; and if the four quarters from which the candidate pretends to be deſcended are not inſerted in them, they never proceed to the public information.

THERE is not in the whole order of Malta any language or nation where the proofs are more rigorous, or made with greater exactneſs than in Germany. In this the natural ſons and baſtards of ſovereign princes are not admitted to be knights of juſtice, as is practiſed in the other languages. The legitimate children alſo of chief magiſtrates, though their families have been always reputed noble, are in like manner excluded, becauſe their gentility is deemed to be a civil gentility, and for that reaſon unqualified to enter into a body where they admit only a military gentility by name as well as arms: and the cuſtom of the language of Germany is to inſiſt on proofs of ſixteen quarters before any knight can be received, and the very ſame proofs which they require in the noble collegiate bodies of that nation. The gentlemen that depoſe as witneſſes aſſert upon oath, that theſe ſixteen quarters are very noble; that the genealogy which the candidate has given in is a faithful one, and proved by authentic writings, and that all the quarters produced are of families already received in the aſſemblies of the circles, and qualified to be admitted into all the noble collegiate bodies. The blood from which a man muſt be deſcended, ought to run in a very pure ſtream, and all the alliances of it muſt be very noble, otherways there is no making proof of theſe ſixteen quarters. And, at the ſame time, they are ſo very rigid in this language, that they would not let a ſingle quarter paſs that had been refuſed in any collegiate body: which has given occaſion to a ſaying, viz. that if a ſon of the grand ſeignior's

was to be converted, and desire to be received as a knight in the language of Germany, he could not be admitted in it, as well for want of legitimacy, as for the difficulty he would have to prove sixteen quarters on the woman's side.

WHEN a knight hath made all his proofs, he may be received at three different ages. He is received as of age at sixteen, though he is not obliged to go to Malta till he is twenty, and he pays about 260 crowns of gold, worth about an hundred pence each, for his passage-fees. Secondly, they may enter themselves as pages to the grand master, and are received as such at twelve years of age, and quit it at fifteen: the passage-fees for a young page are almost the same as those which are paid when a person is received of age. In fine, within these hundred years they have made knights of minority, children in their very cradles; a very modern practice, which the passion of parents for the advancement of their children has rendered very common: the occasion of it shall be related in few words.

WHEN the order was in possession of the isle of Rhodes, there was, in the city of that name, a place called the Collachium, or the Cloister, a quarter set apart for the lodgings of the religious only, and divided from the dwellings of the secular inhabitants. In the general chapter held at Malta in 1631, it was resolved, that they should build a cloister of the same nature; a project which could not be put in execution without a fund of 100,000 crowns. As the treasury was very low, they resolved, for the supplying of what was wanting, to grant an hundred dispensations for receiving a hundred young children into the order, upon condition that they gave a thousand crowns a piece for their passage-fees, besides some other small fees. These hundred dispensations were presently filled; but the Collachium was not built: the money arising from this scheme was employed upon other occasions, and this contrivance has been found to be so convenient, that, in default of a general chapter, they have recourse to the authority of the popes, the first superiors of the

order, who, by particular briefs which they iſſue out, authoriſe this reception of minors, on condition of paying 333 piſtoles and a third, at the current rate of Spaniſh piſtoles for their paſſage-fees. This entrance-money is called paſſage-fees, and owes its original to a ſum of money which a young gentleman, who was deſirous of going to take the habit at Jeruſalem, or at Rhodes, formerly paid to the maſter that carried him thither.

THIS is pretty near the form obſerved in the reception of the knights of juſtice, and in the proofs which are required of their gentility. As for the chaplains or conventual brothers, and the ſerving brothers of arms, who are not tied up to ſuch kind of proofs, they are however obliged to ſhew that they are born of honeſt parents, who never were ſervants, or practiſed any vile or mechanic art; that their fathers, mothers, and grandfathers, by both father and mother's ſide, as well as they themſelves, were all born in lawful wedlock. Theſe ſerving brothers, whether of the church or of arms, though born of parents who had no title to gentility, do nevertheleſs, in quality of religious, make up part of the body of the order in conjunction with the knights of juſtice, and are called to the grand maſter's election in which they have their votes. The chaplains have this further advantage, viz. that the biſhop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John, are taken out of their body, and have the firſt place in council after the grand maſter, or, in his abſence, after his lieutenant. But they are the only perſons of theſe two laſt claſſes who have any ſhare in the government, all the authority being lodged in the hands of the knights of juſtice. However, to make them ſome amends, they have aſſigned them ſome commandries, to which they ſucceed by turns, according to their rank and ſeniority from the time of their reception: they are likeways entertained, and have their table like the knights in the inns of their reſpective languages.

THERE are at Malta ſeven palaces, which they call inns, where all the religious, both knights and ſerving brothers,

brothers, and the novices of the ſeven languages, as well as ſuch as are actually profeſſed, have their tables. The commanders, who are ſuppoſed to be rich enough to ſubſiſt on the revenues of the ircommandries, are very ſeldom there: every head or pillier of an inn has a conſiderable apartment in it. The treaſury of the order furniſhes him a ſum either in money, corn or oil for the diet of the religious of his inn. His own particular table is ſerved with a plenty that ſpreads itſelf over the tables about it: but with all this the religious would often make but ſorry cheer, if the pillier of the inn did not, out of his own purſe, ſupply what was wanting in the allowance from the treaſury. But as thoſe who have the keeping of the inn, have a right to the firſt dignity that becomes vacant in their language, they all ſtrive, either by thriftineſs, or by borrowing of their friends, to procure wherewithal to keep houſe with credit. Whenever the inn becomes vacant, either by the pillier's death, or by his promotion to an higher dignity, the oldeſt knight of the language ſucceeds him. They have no regard whether he is a commander or a private knight; all they conſider is only whether he be the ſenior knight of his language; that he owe nothing to the treaſury; and in caſe he enjoys any of the orders eſtates, that he has made improvements on them, and given in his terrier, or account of their rents; that he has kept a ten year's reſidence in the convent; in fine, that he, by virtue of his ſeniority, has demanded the vacant dignity, which, though it be burdenſome, is nevertheleſs always courted, becauſe it is ever a path that leads to another, which has revenues ſufficient to make them an ample ſatisfaction for all the expence they have been at.

'TIS for the ſame reaſon that ſome young knights, as ſoon as they have made their caravans, deſire leave to fit out gallies, in hopes of getting a commandry the ſooner. For though the order is always at part of the expence of ſuch armaments, it nevertheleſs coſts theſe young knights very conſiderable ſums out of their own pockets, in the hopes they entertain of being indemni-

fied by a commandry of courteſy, which they generally receive from the bounty of the grand maſters.

FOR the defraying of ſo many different expences, as the order is obliged to be at, either for the maintenance of the knights, the ſupport of the hoſpital, or the keeping up of forces by ſea and land, they have funds ariſing from the prizes which they take from the infidels, from the paſſage-fees, mortuaries, and revenues of vacant dignities. A mortuary is the perſonal eſtate of a deceaſed knight, and if he be a commander, it takes in the revenue of the reſt of the year from the time of his death to the firſt of May following. The profits of vacancies go likeways to the order, and continue a year longer. In fine, the moſt ſubſtantial revenue the order has, conſiſts in the reſponſions which they levy upon the priories, bailiwicks, and commandries: employments and dignities, each of which will now be treated of in particular.

ARTICLE III.

Of the dignities, priories, bailiwicks, and commandries appropriated to the knights of juſtice.

IN the hiſtory preceeding this diſſertation, we have ſeen that the order is divided into eight languages, viz. Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, England, Germany and Caſtile, to each of which a particular dignity is annexed. Provence enjoys that of great commander. The marſhal is always taken from that of Auvergne. The language of France has that of great hoſpitaller. The admiral is taken from that of Italy. The drapier, who is now ſtiled the great conſervator, is of the language of Arragon. The turcopolier, or general of the horſe, was formerly of the language of England; but ſince the change of religion in that kingdom, the grand maſter's ſeneſchal is inveſted with this title. The poſt of grand bailiff belongs to the language of

of Germany, and that of great chancellor to the language of Caſtile.

IN the language of Provence there are two priories, viz. St. Giles and Toulouſe, with the bailiwick of Manoſque. There are 54 commandries in the priory of St. Giles, and 35 in the grand priory of Toulouſe.

THE language of Auvergne has but one grand priory, which bears the ſame name, and the bailiwick of Lyons, which was antiently called the bailiwick of Lurveul: there are 40 commandries of knights, and eight of ſerving brothers within this priory.

THE language of France has three grand priories. The grand priory of France contains 45 commandries, that of Aquitain 65, and the grand priory of Champagne 24.

THERE is likeways in the ſame language, the bailiwick of the Morea, the title of which is annexed to St. John de Lateran at Paris, and the poſt of great treaſurer united to the commandry of St. John de Corbeil.

IN Italy, the grand prior of Rome has 19 commandries under him, the prior of Lombardy 45, the prior of Venice 27, the priors of Barletto and Capua have 25 together, the prior of Meſſina 12, the prior of Piſa 26, and the bailiffs of St. Euphemia, St. Stephen's of Monopoli, the Trinity of Venuſia, and of St. John de Naples, are comprehended in the language of Italy.

ARRAGON, Catalonia, and Navarre, compoſe the language of Arragon.

THE grand prior of Arragon, commonly called in hiſtory the Caſtellan of Empoſta, has 29 commandries within his diſtrict, the prior of Catalonia 28, and the prior of Navarre 17: the bailiwick of Majorca is of this language, and the bailiff of Caps in Africa depends likeways upon it. But this bailiwick has been loſt to the order ever ſince the loſs of Tripoli and its adjoining territory.

THE language of England and Scotland, comprehended formerly the priory of England, or of St. John of London, and that of Ireland: there were in this

priory

priory 32 commandries, beſides the bailiwick of l'Aigle, or of the Eagle.

THE grand prior of Germany is prince of the holy Empire, and reſides at Heiterſhexm. He has in High as well as Low Germany, 67 commandries in his dependence, beſides the priors of Bohemia and Hungary, and the bailiwick of Sonneberg, which is now in the hands of the Lutherans.

CASTILE, the kingdoms of Leon and Portugal, compoſe what is called the language of Caſtile. Under the priors of Caſtile and Leon are 27 commandries, and that of Portugal, called the priory of Crato, has 31, beſides the bailiwick of la Bouëde. The title (in partibus) of the bailiff of Negrepont, is common to the languages of Caſtile and Arragon: ſo that there are actually near 500 commandries in the order, beſides the priories and bailiwicks. The commandries, and all the eſtates of the order, in what country ſoever they live, are the property of the body of the order. Formerly they were let out to receivers and ſecular farmers, who paid the rent of their leaſes to the common treaſury: but as the city of Jeruſalem, and afterwards the iſle of Rhodes, lay at a great diſtance, theſe ſecular farmers took advantage of it, and proved very unfaithful, for which reaſon the management of theſe eſtates were afterwards entruſted to the grand priors in their ſeveral diſtricts. This was at firſt no more than a truſt and a bare adminiſtration; but they ſoon began to conſider it as their property, and under one pretence or other, and ſometimes without any at all, they conſumed all revenues of the order. This male-adminiſtration obliged the general chapters, and, in their default, the council to have recourſe to a new expedient: they appointed a knight of known probity and diſintereſtedneſs to ſuperintend over each particular mannour or portion of eſtate which the order had in the ſame canton or diſtrict. But they held this adminiſtration from the council only (durante beneplacito.) The order likeways ſometimes required him to take care of the education of ſome young knights probationers, and there was al-

ways

ways a brother chaplain to ſay maſs in this little community. They were forbidden going beyond the limits of their houſe, without leave firſt obtained from the knight who was the ſuperior of it; and ſuch as were found to tranſgreſs were arreſted and put in priſon. This ſuperior, in antient writings, was called Preceptor, and afterwards commander; a name which imported no more than that the education of theſe young knights, and the management of the poſſeſſions of the order were recommended to his care. He was impowered to take out of theſe revenues a portion ſufficient for the ſubſiſting of his community, and aſſiſting the poor of his diſtrict; and he was obliged to ſend to the common treaſury a certain ſum yearly, which was always proportioned to the revenue of the commandry. This quit-rent was called a Reſponſion, the uſe of which is continued to this day: general chapters have a right of augmenting theſe reſponſions in times of war, and according to the wants and occaſions of the order. I cannot ſay whether theſe little communities above mentioned were ſuppreſſed in order for the drawing off more conſiderable reſponſions from the commandries, or whether a ſpirit of diviſion ariſing among them, they dwindled away of themſelves. That which appears more certain is, that they left the adminiſtration of a commandry to a ſingle knight, whom they ſometimes required to pay certain penſions, which ſerved in lieu of the ſuſtenance he was obliged to furniſh to thoſe knights who dwelt with him. At laſt, to obviate all caballing, and purſuit of employments, which might have very fatal conſequences in a military body, they reſolved to confide the adminiſtration of theſe commandries to the knights, according to their ſeniority; but in order to keep them ſtill in that juſt dependence which they owed their ſuperiors, they entruſted them with the commandries, on the foot only of a bare adminiſtration, for a certain time limited by the council, (ad decem annos, et amplius, ad beneplacitum noſtrum;) as the commiſſions iſſued out of the chancery of Malta for this purpoſe expreſsly declare;

by

by which it is evident that theſe adminiſtrations might be taken away.

EXPRESSIONS in ſuch poſitive and explicit terms, prove undeniably that commandries are no abſolute poſſeſſions or benefices, but meer conceſſions for which the adminiſtrator was accountable to the public treaſury of the order, and liable to be turned out in caſe either of male-adminiſtratton, or of irregularity in his life and converſation. The ſtatutes (de prohibitionibus & pœnis) ſay expreſsly, that if a knight be juſtly ſuſpected of entertaining a looſe commerce with a woman, and continues it after having been admoniſhed of it, he ſhall be immediately ejected from his commandry, and all other poſſeſſions of the order, and that without the leaſt formality of trial or proſecution. The ſame penalty is denounced in this ſtatute againſt duellers, uſurers, all thoſe who forſwear themſelves, and againſt all ſuch receivers of the order as were guilty of any prevarication in their accounts. " Statim, non expectatâ aliâ " ſententiâ, commendis, membris, & penſionibus pri- " vati cenſeantur, & ſint."

BUT withal, from the ſame ſpirit of regularity and juſtice, if a commander has given no ſcandal to any one in his commandry; if he, like a good father of a family, has taken care of the eſtate entruſted to his adminiſtration; if he has been exact in paying the reſponſions that are to be remitted into the common treaſury; if he has taken all due care of, and rebuilt the churches and buildings that depended on his commandry; if he has made an exact terrar, i. e. given a juſt court-roll of all the lands that hold under his fiefs, in the terms preſcribed by the ſtatutes: in fine, if, agreeable to the ſpirit of his order and his own obligations, he has taken care of the poor; the order, like a good mother, takes care to reward his exactitude; and after five years continuance in ſuch an adminiſtration, if any more conſiderable commandry falls vacant, allows him to (emeutir or) have his option of it in his turn, according to his ſeniority.

BUT

BUT he is first of all, after having been five years in poſſeſſion of his firſt commandry, to get his language to appoint commiſſioners to take an account of the good order in which they have found the buildings and the lands, and to draw it up in an inſtrument in form: this is called making his Improvements; and if this verbal proceſs be received and approved at Malta, the commander may be advanced to a richer commandry. 'Tis to this wiſe precaution that the order is indebted for the preſervation of its eſtates and buildings: every commander, in hopes of acquiring a greater eſtate, taking the utmoſt care of that which is entruſted to his adminiſtration.

THE knights, beſides the commandries, may arrive at the great dignities of the order, according to their ſeniority and merit. I have already ſpoke of the grand priors, who are the ſuperiors of all the religious that reſide within their priories. They are directed to have a watchful eye over their conduct, and to ſee that the poſſeſſions of the order be juſtly managed; they preſide in provincial chapters, and in their abſence are to name a lieutenant, who, in that capacity, takes place of all the knights of the petty croſs.

THERE are three kinds of bailiffs in the order, viz. the conventual, the capitulary, and the bailiffs by courteſy and "ad honores." The conventual bailiffs are ſo called, becauſe they are bound to reſide in the convent. They are choſen by the languages, and are likeways their chiefs, and pilliers of the inns. They are the firſt knights after the grand maſter: and though this dignity generally "s'emeutiſſe," or paſſes by option according to ſeniority, they yet are not ſo abſolutely tied up to this rule, but the languages and the council may take a liberty of chuſing any perſon whom they think moſt deſerving.

As the language of Provence is the firſt of the order,* it enjoys the firſt dignity in it, which is that of great commander. This conventual bailiff is, by his poſt, preſident of the public treaſury, and the court of exchequer.

* Great commander.

exchequer. He has likeways the ſupreme direction of the magazines, the arſenal, and the artillery; he names their officers, with the good liking of the grand maſter and council, and he takes them out of what language he pleaſes. His authority extends even to the church of St. John, ſeveral officers of which he names: he has the ſame right in the infirmary, and chuſes the petty commander, whoſe office is to aſſiſt in viſiting the medicines of the hoſpital.

THE dignity of marſhal[a] is the ſecond of the order, and is annexed to the language of Auvergne, of which he is the chief and the pillier. In military affairs he commands all the religious, except the grand croſſes, their lieutenants, and the chaplains. In time of war he gives the great ſtandard of the order to any knight whom he thinks moſt worthy of it: he has a right of naming the firſt equerry; and when he is at ſea, he commands the general of the gallies, and even the high admiral.

THE care of the poor and ſick being the great deſign of the inſtitution of the order, and the baſis as it were of their profeſſion, the treaſury maintains an hoſpital at Malta, the charge of which amounts to 50,000 crowns per annum. This hoſpital is under the juriſdiction of the great hoſpitaller,[b] who is the third conventual bailiff, and the chief and pillier of the language of France. He nominates the overſeer of the infirmary, who is always to be a knight of juſtice, the prior of the infirmary, and two ſcribes, all officers of but two years continuance, and preſents them to the council for their approbation: but for all other employments about the hoſpital, he diſpoſes of them by his ſole authority.

THE admiral is chief of the language of Italy:[c] in the marſhal's abſence, and at ſea he commands the ſoldiers as well as the ſeamen: he names the inſpector and the ſcribe of the arſenal; and whenever he demands

[a] Great marſhal. [b] Great hoſpitaller.

[c] High admiral.

mands the generalſhip of the gallies, the grand maſter is obliged to propoſe it to the council, who either admit or refuſe him as they ſee proper.

BEFORE England, Scotland and Ireland had ſeparated from the church of Rome, and embraced the proteſtant doctrines, the turcopolier[a] was the chief of that language. He, in that quality, had the command of the cavalry and the marine guards. Turcopole was a word uſed antiently in the Levant, and ſignified a light horſe, or kind of dragoon. As this dignity was aboliſhed upon the ſeizure of the eſtates of the order in thoſe iſles, part of the functions of the turcopolier have been given to the grand maſter's ſeneſchal.

THE grand bailiff is chief of the language of Germany.[b] His jurisdiction extends itſelf over the fortifications of the old city, the antient capital of the iſland. He hath the ſame authority over the caſtle of Goza; the grand bailiffs having, during the time that the order had the ſovereignty of Rhodes, enjoyed the like poſt with regard to the caſtle of St. Peter in Caria, as may be ſeen in the hiſtory.

THE dignity of chancellor[c] is annexed to the pillier of Caſtile, Leon and Portugal. The chancellor preſents the vice-chancellor to the council. He is obliged to be preſent when any bulls are ſealed with the ordinary ſeal, and ſign the originals himſelf. 'Tis expreſsly required by the 35 chapter de bajulis, that he be able to write and read.

BESIDES theſe conventual bailiffs, who are the chiefs and pilliers of the order, they have admitted the biſhop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John, in the ſame quality;[d] theſe dignities are common to all the languages, and the prelates who enjoy them get over the default with reſpect to birth, "a defectu natalium," though they are choſe out of the body of chaplains, who, by their rank, are excluded from all the dignities of the order.

[a] The turcopolier. [b] The grand bailiff.
[c] The high chancellor.
[d] Biſhop of Malta, and prior of the church.

THE emperor Charles V. in his deed of conveyance of the iſles of Malta and Goza to the order, reſerved to himſelf, and his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of Sicily, the advowſon of the biſhoprick: and it was agreed, that in caſe of a vacancy of the ſee, the order ſhould be obliged to preſent to him and his ſucceſſors kings of Sicily, three religious in prieſts orders, one of which was to be born in Sicily, and that theſe princes ſhould have the liberty of chuſing any one of the three whom they ſhould beſt approve.

March 24th 1530.

THE prior of the church of St. John is deemed the prelate and ordinary of all the religious: he likeways officiates pontifically in his own church, and in all thoſe of Malta, which are ſerved by the chaplains of the order, and preceeds the biſhop there. When this dignity becomes vacant, the council allow the chaplains to meet and confer about the choice of his ſucceſſor. They even go ſo far as to vote for one: this being done, they carry the ſcrutiny to the council, who, without any regard to ſuch as had the greateſt number of voices in the meeting of the chaplains, determine, by their own votes, who ſhall ſucceed to this dignity, which gives the prior, in the ſame manner as the biſhop, the firſt place in the chapters and councils, in quality of conventual bailiffs.

OF theſe ſeven conventual bailiffs, four at leaſt ought always to be reſidents in the convent; nor can any one of them be abſent without leave from a full council. To obtain which, they muſt have at leaſt two thirds of votes; and, in their abſence, the languages, who cannot be without their heads, name immediately lieutenants to ſupply their places. When one of theſe pilliers is general of the gallies, and goes to ſea, his language, notwithſtanding his being abſent for the ſervice of the order, names in like manner his lieutenant, whoſe authority ceaſes as ſoon as ever the general returns into the harbour.

ALTHOUGH the capitulary bailiffs are not, like the conventual ones, obliged to an actual reſidence in the convent, yet there is no holding a general chapter without

out theſe great croſſes, or their lieutenants. They are likeways obliged to aſſiſt at all provincial chapters, or at leaſt to ſend a knight thither to repreſent them. This ſecond kind of bailiffs are not capable of being made conventual bailiffs, becauſe the one are to reſide in the convent, and the others in the priory, where there bailiwick lies. Of all theſe capitulary bailiffs, there was not any one, the bailiff of Brandenburgh excepted, who, like the grand priors, had any commanders under his juriſdiction. This bailiwick had formerly 13 that depended on it: but ſince its falling into the hands of the proteſtants, ſix of theſe commandries have been ſuppreſſed by the Lutherans. There are however ſtill ſeven left, whoſe titles and revenues are preſerved; but they are in the hands of the proteſtants. Theſe Lutheran commanders however wear the croſs, and aſſume the name of knights; they likeways chuſe their own bailiff, who names to the commandries. Several of theſe pretended commanders have beſought the grand maſters to ſuffer them to be received at Malta, and make their caravans on board the gallies of the order: but the difference in worſhip was an invincible obſtacle to their admiſſion into a catholic ſociety. Some, when they could not obtain leave to fight under the banner of the order, have, from a principle of conſcience, gone to make their caravans in Hungary againſt the Turks, at the time when the country was the ſeat of war. 'Tis likeways ſaid, that out of the ſame motive, they have ſometimes ſent conſiderable ſums to Malta by way of reſponſions; but no regard was ever had to theſe ſeeming acts of ſubmiſſion, and attachment to the body of the order; and the title of bailiff of Brandenburg is emeuti, or goes by option and ſeniority in the language of Germany, in the ſame manner as a great many other capitulary bailiwicks in the other languages of the order, notwithſtanding the eſtates and revenues are actually poſſeſſed by the infidels or proteſtants. All theſe dignities were formerly common to all the languages in general, without any diſtinction, and laſted but from one general

chapter to the next; the chapter diſpoſing of them to perſons of the greateſt merit. But ſince the end of the fourteenth century, they have been conferred on the languages only to which they were annexed. The knights, who were inveſted with them, wear upon their breaſt a great octangular croſs of white linnen cloth, and take place of the knights of the little croſs, though the latter ſhould chance to be their ſeniors.

THE general chapters ſometimes granted this honourable diſtinction to ſuch private knights as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour againſt the infidels, and done any conſiderable ſervices to the order: they were ſtiled bailiffs by courteſy. When there was no general chapter ſitting, the grand maſter and the council named theſe bailiffs, "ad honores," and exerciſed this power for a long while: but as they were continually teazed with recommendations from chriſtian monarchs in favour of knights who indeed were born their ſubjects, but were not thought the moſt deſerving in the order, the grand maſter and council, to get rid of theſe importunities, thought it beſt to give up their right. They fancied that they, by this wiſe precaution, ſhould put a ſtop to the ambition of the knights, but that warm and reſtleſs paſſion put them upon other expedients; they employed the ſame kind of recommendation to the popes, who, juſtly conſidering themſelves as the firſt ſuperiors of all the religious orders, ſupplied the default and abſence of a general chapter by their own authority. 'Tis true indeed, that the private knights or commanders, who thus get themſelves made bailiffs by courteſy by the pope's briefs, do not acquire any particular privilege with regard to other promotions; for when any vacant commandries or dignities are to be diſpoſed of, they have no right of preceding private knights who are their ſeniors: ſo that all they get by the recommendation of the princes who interpoſe in their behalf, is no more than the privilege of wearing the great croſs, the right of ſitting in the chapter and the council when they are at Malta, and the taking place of knights who are their ſeniors,

in

in ſome aſſemblies, and days of ceremony: moſt of them empty honours, and that have nothing ſubſtantial in them.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the general chapter, and different councils of the order.

THE order of Malta, as it is now ſtiled, is a noble republic, partly reſembling that of Venice in its government, which has more of an ariſtocracy than of any other form. The grand maſter, like another doge, preſideth at the head; but the ſupreme authority is veſted in the general chapter, a tribunal eſtabliſhed ever ſince the foundation of the order for the determining of their warlike preparations, and the redreſſing public and private grievances: they treat therein of all affairs, whether eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military; they repeal and reform old ſtatutes, when the obſervance of them is found inconvenient, and they make new ones, which ſubſiſt without appeal till the next chapter.

IN ancient times theſe famous aſſemblies were held regularly every five years: ſometimes, if the exigence of affairs demanded it, they called them every three years; but in proceſs of time they came to meet only every ten years, and now there has not one been held for near an hundred years, to the great prejudice of their regular and military diſcipline. But as it may happen, which indeed were highly to be wiſhed, that the zeal of the knights, and the wiſdom and prudence of the grand maſters, may revive the uſage of them, we think it not improper to ſpecify in this place what perſons theſe great aſſemblies were compoſed of, and the form that was obſerved in them; and that particularly, becauſe the very ſame dignities, in default of a general chapter, give them a right of ſitting in the councils

WHEN all the chaplains were arrived from the ſeveral provinces of Chriſtendom in the head convent of the

order, whether at Jeruſalem, Rhodes, or Malta, the grand maſter, on the day fixed for opening the chapter, after hearing a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, entered the hall appointed for the aſſembly; when he took his place under a canopy, upon a throne raiſed three ſteps from the ground, and the members of the chapter, who were dignitaries, to the number of 54, placed themſelves on the two ſides in the following order, viz.

1. The biſhop.
2. The prior of the church.
3. The great commander.
4. The marſhal.
5. The hoſpitaller.
6. The admiral.
7. The great conſervator.
8. The grand bailiff.
9. The great chancellor.
10. The grand prior of St. Giles.
11. The grand prior of Auvergne.
12. The grand prior of France.
13. The grand prior of Aquitaine.
14. The grand prior of Champagne.
15. The grand prior of Toulouſe.
16. The grand prior of Rome.
17. The grand prior of Lombardy.
18. The grand prior of Venice.
19. The grand prior of Piſa.
20. The grand prior of Barletto.
21. The grand prior of Meſſina.
22. The grand prior of Capua.
23. The caſtellan of Empoſta, or the grand prior of Arragon.
24. The grand prior of Chrato or Portugal.
25. The grand prior of England.
26. The grand prior of Navarre.
27. The grand prior of Germany.
28. The grand prior of Ireland.
29. The grand prior of Bohemia.
30. The grand prior of Hungary.
31. The bailiff of St. Euphemia.
32. The grand prior of Catalonia.

33. The

33. The bailiff of Negrepont.
34. The bailiff of the Morea.
35. The bailiff of Venusia.
36. The bailiff of St. Stephens.
37. The bailiff of Majorca.
38. The bailiff of St. John of Naples.
39. The bailiff of Lyons.
40. The bailiff of Manoſque.
41. The bailiff of Brandenburg.
42. The bailiff of Capſa.
43. The bailiff of Lora.
44. The bailiff of Aquila.
45. The bailiff of Lango and Leza.
46. The bailiff of St. Sepulchre.
47. The bailiff of Cremona.
48. The great treaſurer.
49. The bailiff of Neuvillas.
50. The bailiff of Acre.
51. The bailiff of la Roccella.
52. The bailiff of Armenia.
53. The bailiff of Carloſtad.
54. The bailiff of St. Sebaſtian.

THE ſecond day of the aſſembly of the chapter, the members chuſe, by plurality of voices, three commanders of three different languages or nations, to examine the proxies of ſuch as repreſent the languages and priories, or are deputed by the priors and bailiffs that are abſent. When their powers have been examined and found good, they are admitted to give their votes; but if they are not drawn in due form, they are excluded the aſſembly. When the number of the members are ſettled, every one of them in his turn, according to his own rank, and that of his language, preſents a purſe with five pieces of money, as a mark of his perfect renunciation of all property. The marſhal of the order, from the ſame principle, lays down the great ſtandard, as do likeways the great officers the marks of their reſpective dignities, which they do not reſume till after a new grant from the chapter is firſt obtained. This cuſtom has been practiſed from time imme-

immemorial in the order, and cannot be too highly eſteemed, provided it be not degenerated into mere ceremony.

THEY appoint at the ſame time three commiſſioners of three different nations to receive petitions, which are uſually preſented during the three firſt days, and afterwards are either diſpatched or rejected by the general chapter: but as the members that compoſe it are very numerous, and by that means it would take up too much time to examine every particular affair, they therefore refer the conſideration and deciſion of them to a committee of ſixteen of their members who are all commanders.

THE ſeven languages chuſe each of them two by a plurality of voices, and the chapter chuſe two more to repreſent the language of England. Theſe ſixteen commiſſioners being thus elected take an oath before the grand maſter, who, with the reſt of the members of the chapter, make a reciprocal promiſe upon oath to accept and ratify all that ſhall be reſolved on and determined by the ſixteen.

THE committee withdraws to conſider of the matters repreſented in theſe petitions to the chapter. But for fear leſt theſe ſixteen commanders ſhould not be acquainted with the true intereſts of the order, and perhaps leſt they ſhould come to reſolutions contrary to thoſe of the grand maſter, his procurator, the vice-chancellor, and the ſecretary of the treaſury are admitted into this particular aſſembly, but without any right of voting. The ſixteen alone regulate, ordain, and judge abſolutely, and without appeal, all matters which the chapter refers to their determination: and as theſe great aſſemblies are to continue ſitting above a fortnight, if there happen to be any affairs left, which they had not time to terminate, they refer them to a new committee, which is called the council of reſervations.

BESIDES this proviſional and tranſient council, there are always, in default of a general chapter, four ſtanding councils at Malta, viz. the ordinary, the complete, the ſecret, and the criminal councils.

THE

THE ordinary council is compoſed of the grand maſter, the conventual bailiff, all the great croſſes that are at Malta, the procurators of the languages and the moſt antient knight for that of England. In this council they decide all diſputes that ariſe about receptions, penſions, commandries, dignities, and other matters relating to bulls granted by the order.

THE complete council differs from the ordinary council, only by the addition of two ancient knights for each language, who before they can have a ſeat in it muſt have reſided at leaſt five years in the convent. Appeals lie to this complete council from the ſentences of the ordinary, as well as of the criminal council. 'Tis not long ſince they introduced a cuſtom of appealing to Rome, whither, in default of a general chapter all affairs are inſenſibly carried. From the court of Rome come all diſpenſations, knights of minority, knights by courteſy, bailiffs and great croſſes by courteſy: and there is juſt reaſon to apprehend, that their laviſh beſtowing courteſies on particular perſons will at length ruin the whole body of the order.

IN the ſecret council, affairs of ſtate, and all ſudden and extraordinary caſes that require an immediate conſideration, are treated. When any weighty complaint is made againſt a knight or any other religious, 'tis laid before, and debated in the criminal council. The grand maſter or his lieutenant preſides in all theſe councils, and he only has a right of propoſing any matter for them to debate on. When they come to vote in any caſe, he has two ballots, and when the voices are equal, 'tis his that weighs down the ſcale.

THERE is ſtill another council, which is commonly called the chamber of the treaſury, of which the great commander, chief of the language of Provence by virtue of his office, is preſident. To defray the immenſe expences which the order is obliged to be at, they raiſe funds out of the reſponſions due from the priories, bailywicks and commandries, and from the paſſage-fees, mortuaries, and vacancies. A mortuary is the revenue of a commandry for the remaining part

of

of the year, from the day of the commander's deceaſe to the firſt of May next enſuing, and they call the vacancy the revenue of the whole year, which begins at the ſaid firſt of May, and ends on the ſame day of the year following. The prizes which they take from the infidels, are alſo reckoned among the caſual revenues of the order. All theſe ſeveral funds are under the direction of the chamber of the treaſury, which cannot meet without the great commander or his lieutenant: and if the great commander or his lieutenant are not ſatisfied with the debates in this court, they need only withdraw out of the chamber, and the ſeſſion is immediately diſſolved.

THE great commander has two procurators of the treaſury for his collegues, who were always choſe out of the great croſſes. The grand maſter and council change them every two years, but not both at once, that there may be always one left who is acquainted with the affairs and intereſts of the order. The grand maſter, in conſideration of the intereſt he has in the juſt and exact adminiſtration of the revenues of the order, has a procurator in this chamber, who has a right of voting in it; and whenever he names him, he notifies it to the council.

THIS procurator, on account of the dignity of the perſon he repreſents, has his place in this council before the conventual conſervator and the auditor of accompts. The chamber has a power of giving aſſignments to the value of 500 crowns, but when a warrant is to be iſſued for a more conſiderable ſum, it muſt be laid before the council, who order it to be paſſed in the chancery.

THE high treaſurer, or his lieutenant, hath a right of aſſiſting at the accompts which are given to the common treaſury. Anciently the treaſurer was reckoned among the conventual bailiffs, and had the cheſt of the order in his keeping. But this function having been ſince aſſigned to the conventual conſervator, and the bailiwick annexed to the language of Germany, the poſt of high treaſurer is at preſent no more than a

capitulary

capitulary bailiwick, appropriated to the language of France.

EACH language names every two years a knight to be auditor of the accompts; but they muſt be confirmed by the ordinary council, where they take the oath for their office. They take their places according to the rank of the languages they repreſent: their buſineſs is to go to the chamber as often as they are ſummoned to be preſent, when accompts are given in by the receivers, and all ſuch perſons as are concerned in the adminiſtration of the poſſeſſions of the order.

IN treating of the conventual bailiffs we had occaſion to ſpeak of the great conſervator. Antiently his office continued from one general chapter to another; but ſince the time that thoſe aſſemblies appeared to be ſuppreſſed, the complete council changes him every three years. He is taken out of all the languages by turns: his functions ceaſe at the aſſembly of a general chapter, and are ſuſpended during the vacancy of the maſterſhip.

THE poſt of ſecretary of the treaſury is an office in which a vaſt deal of buſineſs is tranſacted. 'Tis he who makes up and balances the accompts in the preſence of the two auditors. He gives out and pays all bills of exchange; and as all the affairs of the treaſury paſs through his hands, they ſcarce ever change him but for very urgent reaſons.

BEFORE the conventual and capitulary dignities were divided amongſt the languages, the general chapters diſpoſed of them in favour of perſons of the greateſt merit in the order, without regarding what nation they were of. But ever ſince the year 1466, they have been appropriated to particular languages: and the pilliers or conventual bailiffs abovementioned, when they are not filled up, have a right of demanding the firſt dignities that become vacant: thus in the language of Provence, the great commander may demand either the grand priory of St. Giles, or the grand priory of Toulouſe, or the bailiwick of Manoſque. In the language

guage of Auvergne, the great marſhal has a right to the grand priory of that name, or to the bailiwick of Lyons: but when he is once poſſeſſed of one of theſe dignities, he has no option with regard to any other. Notwithſtanding that in the language of France, the commandries in its dependence are annexed to particular priories, nevertheleſs the high dignities appropriated to that language are common to all the knights of the three priories of the ſame language; ſo that, independent from the priories, 'tis ſeniority alone that decides between the knights of the language of France, with reſpect to the grand priories of France, Aquitain and Champaign; of the bailiwick of the Morea, the reſidence of which is fixed at Paris at St. John of Lateran; and of the poſt of treaſurer, which is united to the priory of Corbeil.

IN the language of Italy, the dignities and commandries are in common. In the language of Arragon, which is compoſed of the knights of the kingdom of Catalonia and of Navarre, if the great conſervator is an Arragonian or Valentian, he has a right to the Caſtellany of Empoſta, otherwiſe called the grand priory of Aragon.

THE bailiwick of Majorca is common between the knights of Majorca and Catalonia: and the bailiwick of Capſa is common to thoſe of Arragon and Valencia; they remove from this bailiwick to the Caſtellany of Empoſta.

THE bailiwick of Negrepont, which at preſent is "in partibus," and in the hands of the Turks, is annexed alternately to the languages of Arragon and Caſtile: any one may reſign it to take the inn, and they may likewiſe quit the inn by making their option of the ſame bailiwick.

THE dignity of grand bailiff is common between the knights of Germany, and thoſe of the kingdom of Bohemia. It gives a right to the grand priory of Germany, a poſt of greater antiquity in the order, than that of grand bailiff.

THE

THE chancellor may be made grand prior of Caſtile, who, when he is inveſted with that dignity, becomes a grandee of Spain. The grand priory of Crato is in Portugal; but the great chancellor cannot make it his option for fear of engaging in a diſpute with the king of Portugal, who pretends that the advowſon of that dignity belongs to his crown.

THE grand priory of Hungary might anciently have been challenged by the great commander, pillier of the language of Provence, and the ſame right was afterwards conveyed to the admiral, who is pillier of the language of Italy. But at preſent that dignity, by the abdication which the Italians made in 1603, is fallen to the language of Germany, and is common to the knights of that nation and thoſe of Bohemia. Notwithſtanding that the laſt emperors of Germany have recovered the beſt part of Hungary from the infidels, nevertheleſs the order has not been able to recover the poſſeſſion of their priories and commandries in that kingdom, although cardinal Colonitz, an old knight of Malta took the utmoſt pains in that affair. The commandries of Dacia, depending on the grand priory of Hungary, are entirely loſt.

ALTHOUGH the provinces of Tranſylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, compoſed formerly the ancient Dacia, nevertheleſs, in the order of St. John, this name of Dacia, in the language of the middle age, was given to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. We have ſeen in the preceeding hiſtory, that the grand maſter Dieu-donné de Gozon wrote, during his adminiſtration, into theſe provinces, to oblige them to remit their reſponſions, and that in 1464, they ſent viſitors thither to take care that the regular and military diſcipline ſhould be obſerved in thoſe places.

ARTICLE V.

Of the offices and employments in the order.

THE grand maſter has a right to chuſe himſelf a lieutenant, who, when he has named him, notifies it to the council, but without having any need of their conſent and approbation. He likewiſe names the ſeneſchal of his houſhold; and when the perſon who is inveſted with it has a brief from the pope, he enjoys his office for life.

The vice-chancellor preſented by the great chancellor,
The ſecretary of the treaſury named by the grand maſter.
The maſter Equerry named by the great marſhal,
} named by the full council for life.

The grand maſter names the following officers.

Le cavalerizze, or maſter of the horſe.
The receiver of the grand maſter's revenues.
The maſter of the houſhold,
The grand maſter's procurator in the treaſury.
The great chamberlain.
The deputy maſter of the houſhold.
Le ſous cavalerizze, or firſt gentleman of the horſe.
The falconer.
The captain of the guards.
Three auditors.
The almoner and four chaplains.
Four chamberlains.
Four ſecretaries for the Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages.
The ſecretary or intendant of the revenues of the principality.
The credencier or clerk of the kitchen.
The garde-manger, or keeper of the pantry.
The keeper of the wardrobe.

Coun-

Counſellors of the complete council.

Fourteen counſellors taken out of the ſeven languages. } named by the languages, and approved by the council.

Seven auditors of the accompts of the treaſury, } named by the languages, and approved by the council.

Two procurators of the treaſury, great croſſes, named by the grand maſter and approved by the council.

The conventual conſervator who has been already mentioned when we treated of the conventual bailiffs.

Comptroller of the conſervator, in the nomination of the grand maſter and council.

Caſtellan of the caſtellany. This office is entered upon the firſt day of May, and continues for two years.

Two procurators of the priſoners, of the poor, of widows and orphans; the one a knight, and the other a prieſt, who is chaplain, or brother of obedience.

The protector of the monaſtery of St. Urſula, — a great croſs.

2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the church, — a great croſs and a knight.

3 commiſſioners of the poor beggars, — great croſſes.

2 ditto of the alms, — 1 great croſs, 1 knight.

2 ditto of the ſick poor women, — knights.

2 protectors of the catechumens, and the new converts, — 1 great croſs, 1 knight.

3 commiſſioners of the redemption, in the choice of the grand maſter, — 1 great croſs, 2 knights.

The overſeer of the infirmary, — a knight of the language of France, in the preſentation of the great hoſpitaller.

The prior and ſub-prior of the infirmary, } preſented by the great hoſpitaller, and approved by the grand maſter and council.

The ſcribe, } preſented by the great hoſpitaller, and approved by the grand maſter and council.

The Armonier or preſs-keeper, } preſented by the great hoſpitaller, and approved by the grand maſter and council.

2 prud'hommes or comptrollers of the infirmary,	two knights named by the grand master, and approved by the council.
4 commissaries of war and fortifications,	4 great crosses of the four nations, viz. France, Spain, Italy and Germany.
4 ditto of the congregation of the gallies.	4 knights of the 4 nations.
2 ditto for regulating the caravans,	2 great crosses.
4 ditto of the naval armaments,	3 great crosses and 1 knight.
A president and four commissioners of the congregation of the ships of the four nations,	1 great cross, and 4 knights.
2 commissioners of the chest of the flags,	1 great cross, 1 knight.
3 ditto of the novices of different nations.	1 great cross, 2 knights.
2 ditto of the prizes,	2 knights.
2 ditto of the prison of the slaves,	2 knights.
The governor of the prison of the slaves,	a serving brother in the nomination of the grand master.
2 Commissioners of the mint,	2 great crosses.
4 ditto of the gentry,	4 knights of the four nations.
3 ditto of agreements,	3 knights.
The governor of the magazines,	1 knight in the presentation of the great commander.
2 prud'hommes, or comptrollers of the stores,	2 knights.
2 commissioners of the two houses,	2 knights,
2 ditto of health,	2 knights; but when there is any suspicion of infection, they join 4 great crosses with them.

THE

The commander of the artillery,	1 knight, in the nomination of the great commander.
2 comptrollers of the artillery,	2 knights.
2 commiſſaries of the ſoldiers,	2 knights, named by the grand maſter.
The fiſcal, or attorney,	He is generally a brother of obedience.
The deputy-maſter-equerry,	a ſerving brother, named by the grand maſter, who notifies his nomination to the council.
The porter of la Valette,	a ſerving brother in the grand maſter's nomination.
The governor of the arſenal,	a knight in the nomination of the great commander.
The comptroller of the arſenal,	a knight in the preſentation of the admiral.
The veſtry-keeper,	brother chaplains in the nomination of the great commander.
The candle-keeper of the church of St. John,	
The belfrey-keeper,	
The general of the gallies,	He chuſes the captain of the admiral-galley, and preſents him to the council.

As many captains and maſters as there are gallies.
The reveditor or inſpector of the gallies.
The commodore of the ſhips.
As many captains as there are ſhips, and ſeveral ſubaltern officers.
The proveditor or overſeer of the ſhips.

The GOVERNORS.

Of Goza,
St. Angelo,
St. Elmo,
Ricasoli,
The Town,
The isle de la Sangle,
} In the nomination of the grand master.

The captain of la Valette,
The seven captains of the hamlets or villages of the country,
The captain of the grove, a serving brother,
} In the grand master's nomination.

The three judges of appeals,
of criminal cases,
of civil causes,
} Lawyers and doctors of laws named by the council.

OUT OF THE CONVENT.

Three embassadors in ordinary of the order.

M. the bailiff baron of Schaden embassador to the pope — At Rome.
M. the bailiff of Diestrincten embassador to the emperor — At Vienna.
The bailiff de Mesmes embassador to the king of France — At Paris.
The bailiff d'Avila embassador to the king of Spain — At Madrid.

The embassadors of France and Spain are always great crosses. The embassador of Rome is often a little cross; their employment lasts for three years, but it is frequently continued to them longer.

IN all the priories of the order there are receivers, whom the treasury presents to the council: their office is granted them for three years, but they sometimes continue them, and they may be great crosses.

THERE

THERE are likewiſe in all the priories ſeveral procurators in the preſentation of the treaſury, whoſe employments alſo laſt for three years.

THE money is coined with the impreſs and arms of the reigning grand maſter.

THE grand maſter don Raimond Perellos de Rocaful was the firſt that ever had guards; the company conſiſts of 150 men, and they mount the guard at the palace, and the two gates of the city of la Valette.

THE grand maſter is to be deemed the firſt patron general of all thoſe offices abovementioned, for which we have not aſſigned any particular patron: but he is obliged to propoſe his nomination to the council, who have a power either to allow or reject it.

SUCH are the dignities and offices of this order, the firſt of which is that of the grand maſter, the higheſt honour to which a knight of juſtice can arrive; and for the better underſtanding thereof, we ſhall now explain the form obſerved in his election, his titles, his rights, his prerogatives, and from whence his forces and revenues ariſe.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the election of the grand maſter.

AS ſoon as the grand maſter is dead, the council breaks his ſeal: and, that the order may not be left without an head, they chuſe a lieutenant of the maſterſhip, who, in concert with the council, preſides in the adminiſtration, but never makes any grant, or offer to touch the revenue of the grand maſterſhip.

THE ſecond day they lay the corps of the deceaſed in ſtate in the great hall of the palace on a catafalco, or ſcaffold, with a complete ſuit of armour on his right hand, lying upon a table covered with a carpet of black cloth. They bury him in the evening with the proper ſolemnities; the function of the conventual conſervator is ſuſpended during the vacancy of the maſterſhip.

The

The ſame day they appoint three knights of different nations, to receive what is due to the treaſury from the religious that pretend to give their votes in the election. They then draw up a liſt of all who have a right to vote in it, and fix it up publicly at the door of the church of St. John: they likewiſe fix up the names of all ſuch as loſe their right of voting for that time, by their being in debt to the treaſury.

IN the election of the doge of Venice, all the nobles above 30 years of age meet in the palace of St. Mark, and put as many balls into an urn, as there are gentlemen preſent, thirty of which are gilt. The gentlemen to whoſe lot they fall put, in preſence of all the ſtate, nine of the gilded ones amongſt 24 white ones, and the nine gentlemen who happen to draw them elect forty others, all of different families, but who are allowed to name themſelves in the number. Theſe 40 are again by lot reduced to 12; thoſe 12 elect 25; the firſt naming three, and the two others two each. Theſe 25 drawing lots again like the former, are reduced to nine, who name 45, which is five each: the 45 caſt lots again, and are reduced to 11, who at laſt elect 41, who are the final electors of the doge, when they are confirmed by the great council; for if they are not, they muſt begin anew till they come again to another 41.

A MAN, to entitle him to have a vote in the election of grand maſter, muſt have been received of juſtice into the order; muſt be at leaſt 18 years of age; muſt have reſided three years in the convent, have made three caravans, and not owe at moſt above ten crowns to the public treaſury. Notwithſtanding that the brother chaplains, provided they are prieſts, and the ſerving brothers of arms are allowed to give their votes in the ſeveral languages into which they have been admitted, they yet have no manner of ſhare in the government afterwards. Such of the Malteſe as have been received into any of the languages, by virtue of a particular diſpenſation of the popes, are not allowed to give

their

their votes in the election, much leſs to be competitors for it; the reaſon of which general excluſion is in all probability to prevent any temptation which a Maltese grand maſter might poſſibly be under of perpetuating the ſovereignty of Malta among his own countrymen.

THE third day after the grand maſter's deceaſe is always fixed for the proceeding to the election of his ſucceſſor, and they never defer a choice of ſuch importance to a longer time, not only to ſtop all canvaſſings and cabals, but alſo to prevent certain pretenſions of the court of Rome, where it is a maxim, that, ſo long as the vacancy is not filled up, the pope has a right of prevention to nominate the grand maſter; ſo that the third day all the convent aſſemble together after having heard a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt in the church of St. John. The ſeven languages which compoſe the order retire every one into their reſpective chapels, except that which the lieutenant of the maſterſhip is of, which takes its place in the nave of the church. Theſe ſeven languages are each of them to chuſe out of their reſpective knights, three electors, to whom they give up all the right of election: theſe make in all one and twenty electors.

THE religious being ſhut up in their chapel write in their turns, and according to their ſeniority, the name of the knight of their language whom they chuſe to be the firſt of the three electors they are to name. And, in order to aſcertain their election, they are obliged to put their own name at the bottom of their ticket, and then ſeal it with the ſeal of the language.

WHEN all the voters of a language have given their votes in this manner, the procurators of the language take all the billets, and, counting them over in the preſence of all the language, they examine whether their number agrees exactly with that of the votes; for if it were to differ they would burn them immediately, and vote afreſh till the number of tickets tallied exactly with the number of religious who have a right to give their votes.

BUT

BUT if every thing appears in due order, the procurators, with the moſt ancient of the language, open the tickets on the ſide on which the name of the knight is written, whom they chuſe for their firſt elector; after which they count the votes given in favour of the other knights who were competitors in the ſame election, and if none of them have a clear quarter part of the ballots of his language, they muſt begin to vote again afreſh, till ſuch time as one knight has a clear quarter part of the votes; and then he takes the oath required by the ſtatutes before the lieutenant of the maſterſhip, and goes into the conclave: after this all the voters begin to ballot again for chuſing the two other electors, who, like the firſt, carry it by plurality of voices; but the three electors are generally named at the very firſt balloting.

BY a clear quarter part of the votes in a language is meant a number which cannot be found four times among thoſe who compoſe the language: ſo the clear quarter part of nine is three, of thirteen four, of ſeventeen five, &c. If it happens that there is an equality of votes as well as a clear quarter part, the ſenior carries it, and the three perſons elected go up to the Conclave where they themſelves act as electors.

EVERY language chuſes afterwards another knight to repreſent England by plurality of voices, and out of theſe ſeven knights three are choſe, by plurality of votes, to enter the Conclave, and repreſent the language of England. Theſe three new electors muſt be choſe out of three different nations. It muſt be obſerved, that if the lieutenant of the maſterſhip ſhould be named for one of the three electors whom his language is to chuſe, the council of ſtate would immediately put another in his place, in order that the government might not be left a moment without a chief and a ſuperior.

WHEN the three electors of each language are aſſembled in the Conclave to the number of twenty one, and are joined by the three electors for the language of England, making in all four and twenty knights of juſtice

juſtice or great croſſes, though indeed the biſhop of Malta, and the prior of the church, may be of the number, their dignities being a diſpenſation for their default of birth. Theſe four and twenty, taking an oath before the lieutenant of the maſterſhip, afterwards chuſe the preſident of the election, whoſe nomination aboliſhes the office of lieutenant of the maſterſhip. After this they proceed to the choice of the triumvirate, i. e. of a knight, a chaplain, who is a prieſt and a ſerving brother, to whom the firſt 24 electors deliver up the power of electing, when they retire out of the Conclave.

THIS triumvirate having taken their oaths retire into the chamber of the Conclave, and proceed among themſelves to the choice of a fourth elector: when this fourth is joined with them, theſe four new electors chuſe a fifth, and ſo on till they have choſe to the number of thirteen, which with the three firſt, who were named by the 24, make up the number of 16 electors, two for every language, including that of England. In the nomination of the firſt eight, including the triumvirate in the number, they have no regard to the pre-eminence of the languages; but in the nomination of the other half, they always obſerve the rank which the languages have in reſpect of one another; ſo the ſixth of this ſecond half, which is the 14th in the order of the 16, is that taken out of any language they pleaſe to repreſent England.

IF the triumvirate do not in an hour's time agree in the election of the fourth elector abovementioned, they are each of them obliged to name one, and the 24 firſt electors ballot for them in the veſtry, where they make their ſcrutiny on this occaſion; and he of the three named by the triumvirate, who has the moſt votes among the 24, carries it; but if they all chance to have an equal number of voices, the ſenior of the three would be preferred. The 13, according as they are called, take each the uſual oath, before the preſident of the election, before they join the triumvirate; and when they are all together, they ballot among them-

themſelves for one or more perſons; he who has a majority of votes is made grand maſter. In caſe of an equal diviſion among the 16 electors, the vote of the knight of the election carries it, and turns the ſcale. As odd as this form of election may ſeem, the knights had reaſon enough to eſtabliſh it in that manner; for theſe different changes of elector break all the meaſures private men might take; and when all depends upon the choice of perſons who owe their power to the favour of fortune, all artifices and intrigues prove ineffectual: beſides, this is a means in this noble republic to pleaſe almoſt every particular perſon in it, by the ſhare which they flatter themſelves they have had in the election of the grand maſter.

THE balloting being over, the triumvirate leave the thirteen who had been concerned with them in the election, and, going up to the rails of the gallery which is over the great gate, the knight of the election, having the chaplain on his right, and the ſerving brother on his left, demands three times of the religious aſſembled in the church, if they are diſpoſed to ratify the election they have juſt made of a grand maſter; and when all the aſſembly has anſwered that they approve their choice, the knight of the election proclaims him aloud, and the new grand maſter, if he is preſent, goes and ſeats himſelf under the canopy. He firſt takes the oath which is adminiſtred to him by the prior of the church, and after Te Deum has been ſung by way of thankſgiving, he receives the homage of all the religious, and is carried from thence in triumph to the palace. The day of the election, the treaſury, in order to ſave the houſe of the maſterſhip from being plundered, diſtribute three crowns to each religious, both novices as well as thoſe who are profeſſed. And a day or two after the election, the full or complete council puts the new grand maſter in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the iſles of Malta and Goza; ſo that by his new dignity, he reunites in his perſon a military and regular ſuperiority over all the religious of his order, and at the ſame time a ſovereignty and all manner of royal

rights

rights over the laity who are his ſubjects. But how lawful ſoever this ſovereign authority may be, it has, nevertheleſs, ever ſince the ſettling of the inquiſition in Malta, been incroached upon by the pretenſions of the inquiſitors. Formerly the ſupreme council of the order had the ſole cognizance of every thing relating to faith and religion. But during the maſterſhip of the grand maſter de la Caſſiere, the biſhops Cubellet and Royas, having ſucceſſively got orders from Rome, that the cognizance thereof ſhould be referred to them, the order being incenſed at theſe proceedings, by way of revenge applied to pope Gregory XIII. and prevailed with him to ſend an inquiſitor to Malta to take away that juriſdiction from the biſhop. 'Tis true indeed that the council of the order, for the preſervation of their authority, inſiſted with his holineſs, that the officer of the court of Rome ſhould not proceed in any caſe, but in concert with the grand maſter, the biſhop, the prior of the church, and the vice-chancellor of the order: ſo that the authority of this tribunal was divided between the inquiſitor and the principal officers of the order.

BUT this wiſe and prudent temperament did not ſubſiſt long; for the inquiſitors, from a kind of emulation ſo common among them, took in other aſſeſſors, in order to make themſelves abſolute maſters in their tribunal, though ſtill under pretence of maintaining the authority of the holy ſee; and not content with this ſtep, they took another which is ſcarce to be parallelled: they created ſo prodigious a number of what they call the Familiars of the holy office, that they have formed with this ſet of people a new government as it were, and a body of ſubjects, who, by virtue of certain patents of the inquiſition, pretend to exempt themſelves from the ſovereign authority of the order. Theſe ſubjects of the order, who may very well be treated as rebels, make up two thirds of the inhabitants of the iſland; ſo that all who have either money or credit with the inquiſitor, pretend that they, by virtue of his protection and patents, are not obliged to take arms upon the grand maſter's orders, to repulſe the infidels,

when they make deſcents upon the iſland. The ſecret views of the inquiſitors are in all probability theſe; they ſuppoſe, that after they have robbed the grand maſter of his natural ſubjects, they may afterwards reduce him by inſenſible degrees to the miſerable condition of being their inferior. And in a memorial preſented by the language of France, to king Lewis the XIVth, of glorious memory, we ſee that the inquiſitors of that time, forgetting the reſpect due to the character of a ſovereign, had the boldneſs to pretend to oblige the grand maſter to ſtop his coach when they ſhould meet him in the ſtreet with theirs. After this, nothing was wanting to complete the ambitious projects of the inquiſitor, but to ſeize on the revenues annexed to the dignity of grand maſter, both thoſe which aroſe from the principality of the iſlands, as well as thoſe that belonged to him by virtue of the grand maſterſhip.

THE revenues of the principality conſiſt in the rights of the admiralty, at the rate of ten per cent. upon all prizes, and comprehend likewiſe the cuſtoms, aſſeſſments, impoſts, lands of the Demeſne, farms, houſes, gardens, duties on alienation and purchaſing of lands, fines and confiſcations.

THE revenues of the maſterſhip conſiſt firſt of ſix thouſand crowns, which the treaſury pays him every year for his table, two hundred crowns for keeping his palace and country-houſe in repair; a very ſcanty ſum indeed with regard to his dignity, but which ſhews the frugality and temperance of the age when this regulation was made. Secondly, the grand maſter has a year's revenue of all the commandries of courteſy, which he diſpoſes of every five years in each priory: and he has likewiſe in every priory the perpetual enjoyment of one commandry, which is called the Magiſtral Chamber, becauſe it is annexed to the maſterſhip. He may, in caſe he thinks proper, have them managed in his own name, or otherwiſe he may give them to any knights who have deſerved well of the order by their ſervices; and when the grand maſter beſtows

ſtows one of theſe magiſtral commandries upon a knight, he may, beſides two annates, or the revenues of two years which he receives out of it, reſerve likewiſe a penſion to himſelf; but the knight who is gratified with this commandry, in conſideration of theſe clogs upon it, is diſpenſed from paying any mortuary or vacancy to the order.

THE grand maſters have frequently ſhips out a cruiſing, and have themſelves all the profits that ariſe from the prizes they take: they likewiſe, in conjunction with the council, give leave to ſuch knights as are able, to fit out veſſels againſt the Turks, and cruiſe with the maſter's flag; but as for traffic and merchandize, that kind of venal profit is forbid by the ſtatutes; and beſides, all commerce is odious to moſt of the languages, who would think that a gain of that nature would debaſe the nobility of their extraction.

End of the diſſertation upon the government.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

Two cotemporary and original hiſtorians, who relate the ſame fact, but with circumſtances ſo very different, that they entirely alter the nature of it.

SUCH as undertake to travel through the immenſe ſpace of hiſtory, often meet with rocks in their road [a], which they can hardly keep from ſplitting on, without carrying the plummet always in their hand, and calling in the aſſiſtance of criticiſm, which a prudent writer ſhould conſult every moment, as a compaſs abſolutely neceſſary to ſteer by in this kind of navigation. No body need be told that this art, like other ſciences, is guided by principles and rules that are peculiar to it: The firſt that is propoſed to us is, to advance no fact, as far as is poſſible, but upon the teſtimony of cotemporary and original hiſtorians: 'tis this teſtimony that engages the reader's confidence and eſtabliſhes his aſſurance of facts. But if ſuch antient authors, of equal authority, relate the ſame fact in a different manner, by what rule can a later writer be determined? What motive can fix his choice, and to which of the two hiſtorians ſhall he give the preference?

THIS is the very difficulty I met with in that part of my ſeventh book, where I give an account of the manner in which prince Gem or Zizim, ſon to Mahomet II. was received in the iſle of Rhodes by the grand maſter and the knights of St. John. To guide me in my relation of that fact, I conſulted the cotemporary and original hiſtorians: I found two of them, who deſerve that title indiſputably, who yet contradict one another directly in the narration of the ſame fact. The firſt

[a] See the 7th book of this hiſtory, p. 85. Vol. III.

firſt is William Caourſin vice-chancellor of the order, and the other is William de Jaligni ſecretary to Peter de Bourbon, ſecond of the name, ſeignior of Beaujeu, who to the prejudice of the duke of Orleans, preſumptive heir of the crown, ſeized on the government, and under whoſe adminiſtration moſt of the affairs, of which his ſecretary gives an account, were tranſacted. The whole affair between thoſe two writers is to know, whether after the death of Mahomet II. prince Zizim his ſon, then in queſt of an aſylum againſt the power of his brother Bajazet who was for putting him to death; whether, I ſay, this unfortunate prince applied to the grand maſter of Rhodes, in order to obtain from him a retreat in his dominions, and a paſs to come in and go out of them as he pleaſed; and whether this paſs was ſent him by a ſquadron of ſhips to ſerve him for an eſcort, as Caourſin relates; or whether he did not throw himſelf into the port of Rhodes and expoſe himſelf to be made a priſoner of war by the knights, purely to avoid being taken by the gallies of the ſultan his brother, which were purſuing him on all ſides, as Jaligni informs us, who pretends, that the grand maſter and the knights ſeized on his perſon, "Hoping, ſays he, to make their advantage of "him."

IF we follow Caourſin, Zizim was Bajazet's younger brother; but he ſays, the prince pretended to the crown, as being born in royalty, after the emperor Mahomet his father was in poſſeſſion of the empire: whereas Bajazet, though the elder, was born in the reign of Amurath II. when Mahomet was but a private man. "Fateor, he makes Zizim ſay, fratrem prius "in lucem prodiiſſe; ſed patre eſt genitus non rege." Jaligni on the contrary ſays expreſsly, that Zizim was the eldeſt. The vice-chancellor adds, that Zizim being defeated in two battles againſt his brother, and having in vain ſollicited the ſoldan of Egypt for ſuccours, and finding himſelf without troops, skulking up and down in the midſt of his own territories and the rocks of mount Taurus, was forced to ſeek an aſylum in the

of Rhodes; that he ſent embaſſadors to the grand maſter to deſire a paſs from him, "Fidem publicam implorat, ſaid theſe embaſſadors to d'Aubuſſon, quâ "tutus in veſtram ditionem pateat aditus." The hiſtorian continuing his narration, ſays, that the grand maſter ſent him this paſs, with full liberty of coming in and going out of his dominions, in the very form that the embaſſadors deſired.

WE have ſeen in the ſeventh book, that the grand maſter ſent theſe miniſters back with a ſtrong ſquadron to convoy the prince to the iſle of Rhodes, "Firmatus "animo, ſays Caourſin, navim conſcendit & Hierosolymorum equitum fidei ſe committit." He truſts himſelf, ſays the hiſtorian, to the faith of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. Zuniga grand prior of Caſtile giving him his hand to help him aboard his ſhip, and addreſſing himſelf to him, ſpoke as follows: We receive you, ſir, ſays he to him, as our gueſt, and not as an enemy; "Te excipimus ut hoſpitem, non ut "hoſtem." This was afterwards confirmed to him by the grand maſter, who ſaid to him, when he accoſted him, ſince you are come into our territories as our friend and gueſt, it is fit we ſhould render you all the offices of hoſpitality: "Tu ut hoſpes & amicus ac"cedis, jura quidem hoſpitii ut præbeamus decens "eſt."

BUT the treaty which the grand maſter afterwards made with ſultan Bajazet ſoon contradicted a conduct that appeared at firſt ſo generous; for the knights agreed with the ſultan, in conſideration of a penſion of forty five thouſand ducats of gold, to keep Zizim in their power, and hinder him from diſturbing the ſultan his brother in the enjoyment and government of the empire, ſo long as on his ſide he did not invade their territories or thoſe of the chriſtian princes [a]. Caourſin, and after him Pere Bouhours, to excuſe the injuſtice and ſcandalouſneſs of ſuch a treaty, that was inconſiſtent with the paſs which the grand maſter and the order had ſent to prince Zizim, pretend that he engaged,

[a] Hiſt. de Pierre d'Aubuſſon.

ed, when he desired the pass, to guide himself entirely by the grand master's advice; that the pass was granted on this express condition; and that besides, Zizim had given a very ample letter of attorney to the grand master to treat with the Turks as he should see fitting; and it was, says Pere Bouhours, by virtue of this letter of attorney, that the grand master brought Zizim into the treaty of peace.

As for what relates, add these two historians, to the forty or forty-five thousand ducats, which ill designing people make use of as an handle to aspersе the order, 'tis certain that the money which they received from Bajazet was employed in Zizim's maintenance; and the grand master, far from making any advantage of it to himself, made an addition to it out of his own revenue; as may be easily imagined, if we consider the royal magnificence with which the Ottoman prince was always treated, to say nothing of the infinite expences necessary to be made on his account, both in sending and receiving embassadors.

BUT it may be urged, in answer to these two historians, that supposing, as they pretend, the Turkish prince had, in order to obtain the pass, submitted to be guided entirely by the grand master's advice and orders, yet this pretended submission and engagement could never have been stipulated to the prejudice of the prince's liberty; the sole end and principal motive of the pass; otherways the asking it on such a condition was to destroy it entirely. As to what is alledged relating to a letter of attorney that Zizim gave to the grand master, that reason seems to be altogether as frivolous.

THIS prince, if they are to be credited, gave a letter of attorney to the grand master, to treat in his name with the grand seignior his brother; and the proxy makes use of this letter of attorney as a pretence, in concert with his enemy, to keep him in close imprisonment. As to the 45000 ducats of gold that Bajazet furnished for his brother's pension, I leave the reader to judge, whether a sum so considerable as that,

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eſpecially in 1485, was not enough for the maintenance of a priſoner and his guards. If any body would take the pains to make an eſtimate of this ſum, with regard to what it would produce in our days, they will eaſily ſee whether there was any occaſion for the grand maſter, as his two hiſtorians ſay, to make up out of his own revenue, what was wanting for the expences of the Turkiſh prince; or whether a penſion ſo conſiderable, as that which the grand maſter remitted every year with great exactneſs to Venice, was not one of the motives that engaged the order not to part with ſo uſeful a priſoner. After having conſulted Caourſin, let us ſee how Jaligni relates the ſame event.

OF all the facts related by theſe two hiſtorians, in which they contradict one another, I find but one of any great importance, or which, in my opinion, concerns the honour of the grand maſter and his order, and that is the paſs which Caourſin pretends Zizim obtained before he entered into the port of Rhodes. For if he only offered himſelf there as a priſoner of war, which Jaligni aſſerts, there is no doubt but the order might diſpoſe of their priſoner, tranſport him to France, treat with his brother about his penſion, deliver him up, and conſign him over a priſoner to the pope. There is nothing in all this that claſhes with the ordinary rules of juſtice and equity. But if we only conſider the facts as Caourſin ſtates them, and that the Turkiſh prince, before he delivered himſelf up to the knights, did indeed take the precaution of a paſs for his ſecurity; how is it poſſible to vindicate the grand maſter and his order from a breach of promiſe, and a violation of the public faith which they engaged to that prince? Here lies the difficulty; which of the two hiſtorians ſhall we prefer? every thing ſeems to favour Caourſin. This hiſtorian was not only cotemporary, but likeways actually at Rhodes when Zizim arrived there; he was a miniſter, and one of the principal officers of the order, and in all probability, as he was vice-chancellor, he was the very perſon that drew up and ſigned the paſs: and what ſeems to determine

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ſtill more in his favour is, that this writer, who ſeems paſſionate for the intereſts of his order, and in all his works loſes no occaſion of celebrating their illuſtrious actions, does on this occaſion ingenuouſly relate a fact that is not much for its honour. The vanquiſhed party's owning a defeat, is an inconteſtible proof for the glory of the vanquiſher.

BUT that which might make us ſuſpect Caourſin's account is, that this writer amplifies and exaggerates every thing he ſays; and that on the foundation of a certain and undoubted fact, he almoſt builds a romance, or at leaſt dreſſes up his relation of it in circumſtances that very often have little or no probability in them. If he ſpeaks of Mahomet, father to Zizim, he makes him a ſorcerer and a magician, though it is well enough known that that prince was a perfect atheiſt, and owned no divinity but fortune. When he ſpeaks of the death of that ſultan; he indeed damns him, and that with reaſon; but then, as if that were not enough, he precipitates him ſoul and body into hell, where he cauſed, ſays this fine hiſtorian, ſo abominable a ſtink, that the inſupportable ſtench was a great addition to the torments of the damned. "Arbitramur enim, ſays he, tam ſceleſtum, tam fœtidum, "tam ſævum cadaver terram intra ſua viſcera minimè "continuiſſe, et in damnatorum perpetuum chaos deje-"ciſſe; cujus fœtor ipſum etiam infernam inficit, et "damnatorum ſupplicia graviora reddit.

THIS author's ſtile is full as extraordinary as the romantic air which he gives to his narrations. He has no notion but of one kind; his favourite figure is the direct ſtile; and, what is a little ſurpriſing, all the compliments that he beſtows on Zizim are ſo many harangues; we meet with "prince Zizim's ſpeech to "the ſoldan of Egypt, to the prince of Caramania, to "the grand maſter" in every page of his book, with the anſwers of all theſe princes in the ſame plain direct ſtile. Yet theſe are the places of his work where perhaps he has taken the moſt pains; theſe pieces are ſtuffed with learned citations and common places, but

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unluckily they are ſeldom proper for the ſubject, much leſs ſuit the character of the perſons into whoſe mouth he puts them. In fine, before this prince's arrival at Rhodes, he carries him as far as Jeruſalem and Mecca, which journies indeed he actually made; but as if he had ſtood behind him all the time, he recites verbatim the ſeveral prayers which the Turkiſh prince offered up either to God or to Mahomet, the falſe prophet of his law. I own theſe are no more than the faults of a bad orator, which may poſſibly be conſiſtent with his veracity in the facts that he relates; but after all, the perſon that could allow himſelf to compoſe ſuch frothy compliments, and ſuch a number of harangues, might likeways take the liberty of compoſing Zizim's paſs and magnificent entry into Rhodes, which he fancied would be a fine embelliſhment to his hiſtory.

JALIGNI, on the contrary, appears more ſimple in his narration; his work contains only annals of the moſt important matters that paſſed under the reign of Charles VIII. He was ſecretary to a prince, who then governed France during the minority of the king his brother-in-law, and who even, after his majority, kept a great ſhare in the government for ſome time: and if Zizim had come to Rhodes, and afterwards into France, only upon the aſſurance of a paſs, how could they poſſibly be ignorant of it in that kingdom? Would not that prince himſelf have demanded the benefit of the public faith? Whereas, being no better than a priſoner of war, thoſe who took him might very well detain him, diſpoſe of him, or take a ranſom for him, without acting contrary to equity and the law of nations.

BESIDES Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary, the terror of the Turks, the republic of Venice, and even the ſoldan of Egypt, all of them at that time enemies to Bajazet, having made great inſtances to the grand maſter to deliver up Zizim to them, in hopes that his bare appearing on the frontiers would give new life to his party, and might bring about ſome revolution in the empire; if this unfortunate prince had not been a

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priſoner of the order, what pretence could the knights have had to keep him in priſon contrary to the aſſurance of the paſs, of their own intereſts, and of thoſe of all Chriſtendom? Would not all theſe ſovereigns have complained of ſuch an infamous piece of injuſtice? Would there not have been ſome traces or other left of theſe complaints in the hiſtorians of the time? In fine, another proof that the knights thought they had a right to diſpoſe of the perſon and liberty of the Turkiſh prince, and that they conſidered his ranſom as part of their own effects, is, that pope Innocent VIII. having demanded him of the order with a deſign of putting him at the head of a league that was formed againſt the grand ſeignior, the grand maſter and ſupreme council of the order ſent vice-chancellor Caourſin to Rome, with other embaſſadors, to treat with the pontiff about it; and the knights, after various negotiations, would not conſent to deliver up the Turkiſh prince to him, but upon condition, that by way of equivalent, he ſhould unite to their order thoſe of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus, with all the eſtates and revenues belonging to them. Neither was the private intereſt of the grand maſter forgot in this treaty; and in which it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that as ſoon as Zizim ſhould be arrived at Rome, the pope ſhould ſend d'Aubuſſon a cardinal's hat. If Zizim had not been the priſoner of thoſe knights, would it not have been a diſhonour to them to exact ſuch vaſt recompences for violating the faith they had plighted to that prince?

BUT this is to alledge the very thing conteſted as a proof, and is a begging of the queſtion: all depends upon knowing which is moſt to be credited, Caourſin or Jaligni. The firſt allows that there was a paſs, and even gives one to underſtand, and that plainly enough, that it had been violated. According to the other hiſtorian, Zizim was only a priſoner of war, who conſequently had no paſs ſent him; which of the two hiſtorians are we to believe? In order to get rid of this uncertainty, and reconcile theſe authors in ſome meaſure, I fancied it would be beſt to divide my confidence,

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and give part of it to Caoursin, particularly with regard to the facts that passed at Rhodes, to which he was an eye witness, and reserve the other for Jaligni, and follow him in his account of that prince after his arrival in France. This expedient seemed to me at first reasonable enough, but when I came to apply it, I found my scruples springing up, and the same difficulties occurring over again.

FOR if the Turkish prince, as Caoursin asserts, and which indeed is likely enough, did not enter Rhodes till he had a pass, and might enjoy entire liberty in that place; if it be true, as he advances, that this prince went into France of his own accord, the better to avoid the snares that his brother might lay for him so long as he should continue in the east, and in hopes of obtaining powerful succours from Louis XI. to set him upon the throne of his fathers: Jaligni ought to have told us for what reason, and at what time and place he was arrested in France, whereas he does not mention the least syllable of it. If we believe Caoursin, Zizim enjoyed a full liberty at Rhodes: we find him likeways free at his leaving Rhodes, and at the time of his embarkation: and if we follow Jaligni, the prince was a prisoner all the time he was in that kingdom. The French historian, speaking of his abode in France, calls him not so often by his own name, as by that of *the prisoner*. This transition from a state of liberty, to his being confined in a tower, ought it not to be taken notice of by this writer? Why has he not told us whether the poor prince was arrested in the vessel of the order that carried him from Rhodes into France? or whether he waited till he was landed in some part of that kingdom? in fine, whether they did not put him in prison till after the tower built for that purpose was finished! Is it allowable in an event of so rare and singular a nature, to be either in the dark as to the principal circumstances of it, or to suppress them? The Rhodian, in my opinion, is more particular in this respect; and it is easy to be seen from his narration, that they made no open attempt upon Zizim's liberty, till

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orders came from Rhodes to that purpoſe, purſuant to the treaty made between the grand ſeignior and the grand maſter. As the order, by that treaty, engaged itſelf, in conſideration of a penſion of forty-five thouſand ducats of gold, to keep the Turkiſh prince in their power, they certainly thought it neceſſary to keep him in confinement, in order to prevent his eſcape. 'Twas in this treaty that they trafficked for the liberty of this unfortunate prince, and his impriſonment was the ſeal of the new alliance between the Turks and the Chriſtians: but for fear of putting any biaſs upon the reader's judgment, we have thought proper to annex to this diſſertation an extract of the two hiſtorians, by which he will be enabled to make a judgment whether there ever was a paſs granted, and whether ſuch ſafe conduct was violated by the grand maſter and the knights of Rhodes.

TEXTE DE JALIGNI.

LE roy, dit Jaligni, étant encore à Paris ledit mois de Janvier, mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et huit, il arriva per devers lui un ambaſſadeur de l'empereur des Turcs, qui conduiſoit un ambaſſadeur du Roy de Naples. Par cet ambaſſadeur, le Turc écrivoit au Roy des lettres de créance: la cauſe pourquoi le Turc écrivoit, et envoyoit ſon ambaſſadeur, étoit pource-qu'en France étoit ſon frere aîné, à qui appartenoit toute la ſeigneurie, et y avoit été amené il y avoit déjà quatre ou cinq ans: car en l'an mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et un, l'empereur des Turcs mourut, lequel délaiſſa à deux de ſes enfans la plus grande ſeigneurie du monde, pource-qu'il poſſédoit deux empires, et onze royaumes, et tenoit ſous ſon obéiſſance la Turquie, la Grece, et la plûpart de l'Aſie. Après ſa mort, pource-que ſon fils aîné étoit fort éloigné de Conſtantinople, où le Turc a coûtume de faire ſa réſidence, et qu'il étoit occupé en une guerre, ſon frere puîné durant cette abſence, s'aſſura des gens d'armes qui étoient au tour de

ſon pere, et de plus s'empara de toutes ſes finances, et uſurpa le titre de la ſeigneurie. L'aîné, d'autre part, ſçachant les nouvelles du décès de ſon pere, ſe mit en chemin par mer pour venir prendre poſſeſſion de cet empire, comme ſeigneur naturel ; mais en venant, il apprit que ſondit frere s'étoit ſaiſi de tout ; et lui, étant encore ſur mer, il rencontra des gallées en courſe, que ſon frere avoit envoyées pour le guetter et le prendre au paſſage ; et fut tellement preſſé d'icelles gallées, qu'il fut contraint de ſe mettre en fuite, et ſe ſauver, pource qu'il étoit bien aſſuré de ſa mort s'il étoit pris. Il fut donc tellement pourſuivi qu'il lui convint ſe jetter à refuge dedans le port de Rhodes ; laquelle choſe étant venue à la connoiſſance du grand maître et des chevaliers, incontinent ils ſe ſaiſirent de ſa perſonne, étant fort joyeux de l'avanture qui leur étoit advenue ; et eſpérant d'en bien faire leur profit, ils donnerent bon et ſûr ordre pour la garde de ſa perſonne. Auſſi-tôt que le frere qui uſurpoit la Seigneurie, ſçut comme ſondit frere étoit ainſi échappé, il en fut très-déplaiſant ; toutefois incontinent après, il envoya une grande et ſolemnelle ambaſſade devers le grand maître de Rhodes, pour pratiquer, s'il ſeroit poſſible, de ravoir ſon frere, ou à tout le moins d'être aſſuré qu'il ne lui pût nuire à l'avenir. Enfin il fut conclu entre eux que ledit frere jouiſſant, donneroit par chacun an une bonne et grande penſion au grand maître de Rhodes. Et en outre, qu'il fourniroit autre grande ſomme d'argent pour la dépenſe de ſon frere ſpolié, et pour ſa garde : outre quoi alliance fut faite, et toute ſûreté baillée à ceux de Rhodes de leurs terres et ſeigneuries. Or combien que le grand maître de Rhodes eût lors un avantageux parti avec le Turc, toutefois il fut en doute qu'à la longue la ſeigneurie de Rhodes n'en fût brouillée, et en danger, s'il détenoit continuellement ſon priſonnier à Rhodes, croyant bien que le frere jouiſſant ſeroit inceſſamment à l'aguet pour l'avoir ; ou par amour, ou par trahiſon, ou de force. D'autre part, il redoutoit les enterpriſes des voiſins, comme du Souldan, des Vénitiens, du roy de Naples, et autres, et

penſoit

penſoit que chacun d'eux employeroit ſes cinq ſens pour trouver moyen de l'avoir, et en faire chacun ſon profit; auſſi étoit-il fort requis par le pape de le lui bailler, pour le profit et l'avantage du ſaint ſiege apoſtolique. Enfin pour éviter tous ces inconvéniens, il délibéra de le mettre en lieu ſûr; et pourcequ'il étoit natif de France, de la comté de la Marche, et de la maiſon d'Aubuſſon, il réſolut de l'envoyer en ce royaume, conſiderant que le roy étoit fort éloigné des ſeigneuries du Turc, et qu'il n'auroit guéres d'intérêt ſur le fait de cet empire Ottoman, à qui il demeurât des deux freres. Toutesfois avant que de l'envoyer en France, il envoya ſçavoir du roy Louis onziéme de ce nom, ſi ſon plaiſir ſeroit de le vouloir bien ſouffrir en ſon royaume; laquelle choſe le roy accorda volontiers. Après donc que ledit maître de Rhodes eût ainſi eu le congé et la permiſſion du Roy, il prépara le voyage de ſon priſonnier, et l'envoya deſcendre au pays de Languedoc; de là il le fit mener en ladite comté de la Marche, en la maiſon du ſeigneur du Bocalami, qui étoit parent d'icelui grand maître; et là fut détenu ce priſonnier, qui avoit pour ſa garde aucuns chevaliers de Rhodes, leſquels étoient pour la plûpart parens dudit grand maître. Il étoit fort bien entretenu de ſa perſonne en toutes ſes neceſſitez et beſoins; auſſi ſon frere empereur payoit bien ſa dépenſe. Ce priſonnier avoit oui parler du roy Louis, et de la grandeur de ſon royaume, et de ſa ſeigneurie, et auſſi de ſes faits; par quoi il déſiroit fort de le voir et de parler à lui. Les chevaliers qui l'avoient en garde le firent ſçavoir au Roy, lequel fit réponſe, que pour la grande renommée que ſon pere avoit eue, qui en ſon tems étoit juſqu'alors le plus grand prince de la Loi de Mahomet, et lequel avoit le plus fait de belles conquêtes qu'aucun autre, il le verroit volontiers, et communiqueroit de très bon cœur avec lui; mais que bonnement il ne le pouvoit faire, attendu qu'il n'étoit pas de la Loi; et ordonna de plus qu'on lui dit, que s'il vouloit embraſſer la religion Chrétienne, il lui promettoit d'employer toute ſa puiſſance afin de lui aider à recouvrer les ſeigneuries de

ſon empire ; et de plus, il lui donneroit de quoi entretenir ſon état : et ſi d'avanture il vouloit cependant demeurer en ſon royaume, qu'il lui donneroit des héritages et ſeigneuries, avec la jouiſſance deſquelles il pourroit vivre comme un prince. Les chevaliers firent ſçavoir tout cela à leur priſonnier ; mais pourquoi que ce fût il ne voulut délaiſſer ſa Loi, et demeura encore en ladite comté de la Marche, en la maiſon du ſuſdit Bocalami, juſqu'audit mois de Janvier mil quatre cens quatre-vingt et huit, qu'après pluſieurs pourſuites et inſtances que le pape, et le ſaint ſiege apoſtolique avoient faites envers le roy, afin d'avoir ce priſonnier, pour le grand profit et intereſt du ſaint ſiege ; et qu'à cette cauſe il y avoit en ambaſſade envoyée exprès devers le roy, laquelle y étoit encore. Le roy ſe montrant vrai fils de l'Egliſe, et voulant en ſuivre l'amour que ſes prédéceſſeurs avoient eu envers le ſaint ſiege, dont à cette cauſe ils ont acquis le titre de très-chrétiens rois de France ; il livra et remit ce priſonnier aux ambaſſadeurs du ſaint pere pour le mener à Rome : ce qui arriva un peu auparavant que l'ambaſſadeur du Turc arrivât à Paris, lequel ambaſſadeur offroit de la part de ſon maître au roy, de grands partis et avantageuſes conditions, comme de bailler toutes les reliques de Dieu notre Sauveur, des apôtres, et des ſaints et ſaintes, que ſon pere avoit trouvées à Conſtantinople lorſqu'il fit la conquête de cette ville, et dans toutes les autres villes qu'il avoit conquiſes ſur la chrétienté ; de plus, il offroit de faire tout ſon effort pour conquérir la terre ſainte, et puis de la remettre ès mains du roy ; auſſi offroit-il une groſſe penſion pour l'entretenement de ſon frere, pourvû que le roy le retînt dans ſon royaume. Lorſque ces grandes offres ſe firent, le priſonnier étoit encore dedans le royaume, et l'eût bien pû le roy recouvrir et s'en rendre le maître ; et même aucuns diſoient que vû ces grandes offres, le roy les devoit accepter : mais il ſe voulut bien montrer vrai fils de l'Egliſe, et ne voulut pas préférer l'avarice et l'interêt à la libéralité, et à la loyauté, en diſant que puiſ-

qu'il

qu'il l'avoit fait livrer aux gens du pape, et qu'il lui en avoit accordé la délivrance. il vouloit tenir sa parole, et qu'il seroit bien joyeux que le saint siege en fît son profit, et en pût tirer quelque avantage. Il fut donc mené à Avignon ; et de-là il fut mis sur mer, et conduit à Rome. D'ailleurs, le grand maître de Rhodes poursuivoit aussi de sa part qu'il fût mis ès mains du saint siege ; et par ce moyen il fut fait cardinal, et obtint de grands priviléges et biens pour tout l'ordre de saint Jean de Jerusalem. Le roy fit au reste très-bien entretenir et traiter l'ambassadeur du Turc, et celui du roy de Naples, qui le conduisoit, et les fit défrayer, et leur fit de beaux dons.

TEXTE DE CAOURSIN.

Zyzymy Rex legatos mittit Rhodum.

MIttit * itaque rex Zyzymy Rhodum legatos : ad quos prius literas dederat. sed nuncium terrestre iter agentem : regis Bagyazit milites intercipiunt. Legati Cilicie littoribus rhodiam biremem casu repertam conscendunt : rhodumque navigant. Interea navigium apud ea littora stationem habens Zyzymy conducit. ut si casus exegerit : repente eo conscenso saluti quoquo modo consulat. Legati ubi rhodum appulerunt : jussu equitum magistri Petri d'Aubusson senatu coacto in hanc loquuntur sententiam.

Oratio legatorum in senatu Rhodiorum.

PRECELLENTISSIME princeps et magister : prestantissimique equites. Nobilissimus adolescens ac sublimi loco natus Zyzymy rex : othumannides maximi regis nepos. splendidissimi imperatoris filius : ac potentissimi tyranni germanus. adversis rebus ad tempus cedens : cupit ad te sapientissimum principem et victo-

 rioſſimum

* Cette relation a été imprimée à Ulme en 1496 ; on a suivi ici l'orthographe et la ponctuation de l'original.

rioſiſſimum magiſtrum. voſque fortiſſimos athletas: confugere. quorum prudentia conſilio atque ope: rebus afflictis mederi poſſit. Quam propere mittendam claſſem eſſe petit: que ipſum excipiens Rhodum deuehat. fidemque publicam implorat: qua tutus in veſtram ditionem pateat aditus. hoc loco referre non libet: que veſtros quidem preſtantiſſimos animos perſuadeant: ut regium adoleſcentem: non reiciatis. Nobiles viri eſtis: et multa prediti prudentia. ſatis ſuperque intelligitis: quanti ponderis exiſtant poſtulata et quot vel quales fructus inde excerpi poterint. Scimus enim vos preclariſſimos viros armis aſuetos: res magis quam verba impellere: quare prolixiori ſermone ſuauiſſimus aures non obtundemus. Potentiſſimum regis natum: ad vos accedentem (licet profugum) ne floccipendatis. Indecorum enim eſſet aſillum regi claudere. quod vel homonciis: et puſilis ſemper patuit. Celebre quidem eſt veſtrum (apud exteras nationes) nomen: quod et caucaſos montes tranſcendit et indos penetravit. Quin armis vim repellere non ignorat: et profugos fouere aſilo tutiſſimo non faſtidit generoſus veſter animus. Littere in ſenatu recitate: diem poſtulant.

Senatus conſultum.

LEGATIS curia excluſis: magiſter, patres quoque de re conſultant et multa mente agitant. que modo ſuadent: ut regem Zyzymy excipiant. modo: ut reiciant impellunt. Tandem ex rationum controuerſiis (ſeu ex calculorum colliſione ignea ſcintilla) una reſultat ſententia: decernuntque regem excipiendum alendum atque fouendum: quia ejuſce eventus occaſio chriſtiane religioni profutura ſit. Intromiſſis legatis: ſenatus conſultum editur. actis gratiis: petunt. ut res quantotius parentur: ne mora diſcrimen afferat.

Claſſis paratur: et Ciliciam nauigat ad Zyzymy deuehendum.

ONERARIA igitur nauis triremes: nauigiaque parantur. prefectus inſignis eques deſignatur: qui claſſe con-

conſcenſa clara militum hieroſolimorum comitatus caterua in Ciliciam nauigat. vbi illic appulit : rex Zyzymy nauigium de quo ſupra mentionem fecimus : citato equorum curſu vrgentibus germani militibus iam conſcenderat. fama eſt cum a littore paululum elongaretur : perbreuem quidem epiſtolam Zyzymy conſcripſiſſe & ad fratrem dediſſe : quam ſagitte inuoluit nexuitque : & ſitico arcu in terram contorſit. exceptam eſſe ferunt epiſtolam a fratris militibus qui regium iuuenem perſequuti ſunt : & fratri redditam : quam ubi germanus perlegit : parumper lacrimatus eſt. animoque conſternatus diu ſiluit : & aditu prohibito papilione ſe continuit. egre certo tulit. quod frater mahumetee legis cultor (quod permaximum crimen mahumetei ducunt) ad chriſtianos confugerit. ad eos preſertim qui othumannidum familie infenſiſſimi fuere : & genitorem grauiori affecerunt ignominia. quodque fratrem chriſtiano adherentem nomini. legi mahumetee grauiſſimum afferre poſſet dedecus. quorum ſe conſcium profitetur : qui tanta atrocitate ſit eum perſequutus. Series epiſtole : fuit.

Rex Zyzymy Rhodiorum claſſem conſcendit.

UBI nunciatum eſt : rhodios ſui cauſa advantaſſe. firmatus animo : nauim conſcendit. & hieroſolimorum equitum fidei : ſeſe credit. Nauis prefectus : Regulum othumannidem humanitate honore obſequioque proſequitur. littora patrii ſoli linquens : & paternum auittumque regnum deſerens rex. turbato animo aliquot ſiluit horas : mente poſtmodum recepta. navis prefectum : his alloquitur verbis :

Zyzymy claſſis perfectum alloquitur.

NEDUM ago tibi vir illuſtris gratias : verum habeo ingentes. cumulateque redderem ſi ſors a ſublimi loco me non deieciſſet. Quod me deſtitutum profugum animo extorremque tanto zelo afficias. Sed ab ingenuis viſceribus magnanimoque : non niſi illuſtria proficiſci poterunt. generoſi quidem ſunt : qui te ad me ex-

excipiendum miſerunt. tu quoque ex coetu eorum nobilis es et vir dignus. qui mandata exequi accurate pro tua innata prudentia & ſcis & ſtudes. Non poſſum tamen non parum admirari : quod tanti affectus iudicium in me exhibeatur. qui ejus natus ſum : qui ſeuicia crudelitate ac immanitate (dum ſpiritus alebat artus) rhodios perſequutus eſt. in quo : & tuam & tui principis ac ſenatus rhodiorum nobilitatem predico. prudentiam admiror ſimul & magnanimitatem (que iniurarum obliuiſcitur) extollo Si res proſpere ſuccedent : tanti quidem in me officij memorem & gratum intelligent rhodii. Cui ait : claſſis capitaneus.

Reſponſio capitanei.

CLARISSIME princeps : hoc a natura illuſtrioribus animis datum eſt. vt ſoleant precellentes viros : honore afficere digno. tu qui ſummo loco natus es : quamvis profugus & extorris contemtui tamen non eſſe debes. Id quippe vilium hominum cenſetu r: qui nonniſi bene fortunatos colere ſciunt. At magnanimi viri quos virtus aut ſanguinis proſapia illuſtrat : vel hoſtes armis poſitis reuerentur colunt atque obſervant. Te excipimus ut hoſpitem : non hoſtem. hoſpitis quidem iura : non hoſtis ſequimur. Nec enim mirari licet : quo te affectato corde proſequimur. cuius genitor : ſeuo rhodio perſequutus eſt odio. Pater tuus legis mahumetee ſecs tator : quod ſibi cordi eſt molitus. Nos vt hoſti pro virili parte conſtanter arma obiecimus. licet caduca quedam terrena & vilia proſtrarit : que quantotius erecta ſunt glorie tamen famam quam nulla oblitterabit etas : rhodiorum nomini attulit. Poſteritas namque omnis rhodiorum victoriam e celo demiſſam nullo tempore reticebit. Leonis profecto brutorum principis animalium mos eſt : proſtratis blandiri ſeuaque animalia grauiori imbuere ira. Milites quoque chriſti : leonis mores imitati. qui ad eos amice confugiunt : humanitate excipiunt. qui ſeuicia vtuntur : ſtrictos gladios fortiter objiciunt.

Pompa

Pompa qua exceptus eſt a Rhodiis rex Zyzymy.

INTEREA Regis aduentu nunciato : parantur que pompe deceant. ſtruitur ad mare ligneus pons : qui deſcendentem excipiat regem: pontis enim longitudo in mare protenſa decem fere paſſuum fuit. latitudo quatuor : quibus equo gradu plures incedere poſſent. attrebatum pannis auro argenteo ſerico lanaque contextis : pro gallorum belgarum more (qui huiuſce artis inuentores & peritiores putantur) pons ornatur. via enim qua pedum veſtigia incedentes premerent : thurcorum pictis tapetis ſternitur. vici qua parte eundum fuit : mirto floribus ſuauem quidem odorem ſpirantibus reſperſi ac varietate ſunt diſtincti. Primores ac plebeia gens que ad ſpectaculum conuenerat : vias obſident. Matrone ac nupte innupteque puelle : ad feneſtras ſedent. Reliquum vulgus tecta conſcendit : vt venientem conſpiciant regem. Nauim ante portus hoſtium anchoris ſubnixam Rhodia triremis propinquans : regem excipiens ad pontem vehit. Premiſſi ſunt preſtantes ſenatorii ordinis equites : qui Zyzymy deſcendentem conſalutent. Hos ſequitur longus famulorum ordo : inſignis magiſtri redimitorum gallicos cantus vibrancium. deinde iuuenes prime lanuginis milites hieroſolimitani : lucentibus equis inſidentes. Torque veſte ſericea & ſplendido ornatu : diſtincti incedunt. Magiſtrum poſt hos inſignis vehit ſonipes : ſpumancia frena mandens. Aureis fibulis phaleriſque ornatus : qui hynnitum ſepius edens. ſuperbe graditur : vt ne quidem magiſtro quempiam adherere laciniori inceſſu permittat. Senatus quidem grauis : equis vectus ſubſequitur. Edem ſancti Sebaſtiani foro ſitam de induſtria magiſter non tranſit : illucque obuiam venit rex Zyzymy. ſuperbo inſidens equo : fidis comitatus profugis. Poſtquam magiſtrum rex conſpexit : ter digito labellum compeſcuit. qui mos eſt barbarorum principum: cum mutua reuerencia ſeſe afficiunt. Magiſter autem pro more principem reueretur. Reddita ſalutatione dextras iungunt, & per interpretem confabulantes : ad edes equitant paratas. Ubi ad palacia francorum equitum (magnifice ad hec ornata)

ta) ventum eſt eo dimiſſo magiſter ſuas edes petit. Rex vero ex equo in pedes ſeſe agiliter excipit : ac duorum medius thurcorum honoris cauſa vlnas ſuſtentantium ſcalas conſcendens penetralia ingreditur. barbaricoque ſago abiecto : lectiſternio pro thurcorum more flexis poplitibus ſedit. Ea die artubus ſale tabentibus : quies data eſt.

Zyzymy ad Magiſtrum verba.

POSTRIDIE eius diei : magiſtrum coram alloquitur rex his verbis. Preſtantiſſime magiſter inclitiſſimeque princeps : germani ſeuicia me perſequente. cumque ſors eo me redegiſſet : vt aduerſis cedere quam infortunam conari ſalubrius viſum eſſet. multa menti occurrunt : huc atque illuc animum conuertens ad quos confugerem non ſatis proſpicio. Demum tu preclariſſime athleta occurriſti : ſubijtque mentem tui quidem nominis fama percelebris. que nedum chriſtianos : verum exterorum fines & vſque ad indos penetrauit. Accedit ad hoc fidei integritas : animi generoſitas mentiſque magnanimitas. qua tu : tuique commilitones prediti ſunt. Preterea precellentis triumphi gloria : quam (obſidione qua genitor meus Rhodios oppugnauit) adepti eſtis illuſtre quidem facinus : othumannorum familiam (ſupra octingentos annos tropheis trumphis atque ouationibus celebratam) virtute veſtra propulſaſſe. ingenti itaque tue virtutis admiratione allectus : te tuorumque militum cetu m. nedum dilexi verum amaui colui & magnifeci. Veſtre quippe : virtutis tante ſunt vires vt neduṁ ſue gentis : verum exterarum nationum animos alliciant. Nec parum attulit mihi fiducie : quod tu chriſtianorum principum fauorem gratiamque haud immerito complecteris. Et per te : tui quidem nominis ſplendor in orientem late diffunditur. Nulli certe mirum videri debet : ſi perſonam tue fidei crederemus. qui magnanimus & ſapientiſſimus genitoris preteritas iniurias paruipenderes : & filium tiranni ad te confugientem. non contemneres : verum conſilio auxilio atque preſidio foueres. Sed tacitus forſitan cogitas : quo iure cum

germano

germano de regno hic contendit qui minor eſt natu. Fateor fratrem prius in lucem prodiſſe : hac quoque ratione imperio excluſum iri contendo. Patre enim genitus eſt non rege : qui (nondum principatum adeptus) ipſum genuit. Poſſideat igitur: quorum pater (dum eum ſuſcepit) potitur. Ego vero a patre rege imperialibus infulis ornato : genitus natus educatuſque ſum. Nec patrem vidi cognouí atque colui : niſi regem imperatorem ac principem rerum potitum. Quo fit : vt optimo iure quod pater (cum me genuit) poſſedit : mihi debeant nato. At mittamus hec. Potuit ne me regno paterno auitoque prorſus expellere : & regio iuueni dignam portionem denegare ? Regiam gazam : precellentemque ſupellectilem inuadere ſibi atcribere ac diripere ? Commilitones (vt mihi infenſi eſſent) donis corrumpere allicere atque mouere : & me ad interitum vſque vrgere ? O fratris ſeua crudelitas ? O germani contumax tyrannis ? O ſanguinis ceca cupiditas ? Pudet hec : de fratre queri. Sed quod non erubuit : me paterna hereditate ſpoliare· equum eſt me (iniuria ſpoliatum) coram his ad quos confugio haud verecunde conqueri. *Qui enim medici operam petit : dolorem & vulnus detegat neceſſe eſt.* Ad te confugi Rhodiorum feliciſſime princeps : voſque amplector fortiſſimi milites. faceſſant igitur paterne contumelie : ad calamitatem (qua premor) mentem conuertere velis inclitiſſime athleta. qui hoſtium armis audes reſiſtere : & principum calamitati ſcis ſubuenire. Percuciam quippe cum chriſtianis perpetuum foedus : nec eos armis laceſſere conabor: paternique imperij portione non indigna contentus : armis poſitis quieſcam. Nec immemor beneficiorum (a te ſuſceptorum) ero. Imploro tuum preſidium. inuoco principum chriſtiane religionis auxilium : vt & mihi & ipſis conſulant germani ſeuiciam vindicantes. pro inimico amicum : pro hoſte hoſpitem : pro infido fidum : R. P. chriſtianorum vendicabunt. Rege ſilente: magiſter ita loquutus eſt.

Reſponſio Magiſtri.

VERBA tua illuſtriſſime Rex : prudencia ſunt plena. Quod me & rhodios equites tantopere laudaris : tue quidem

quidem modeſtie aſcribimus. Si quid enim glorie fame aut dignitatis in noſtro relucet cetu : deo gratiarum infuſori attribuimus. Ex cuius prouidentie fonte : cuncta manant fluunt ac deriuantur. Nec te moueat : quod chriſtiani & cruce ſignati ſumus. Rhodiorum quippe ciuitas cunctarum gentium aſilum refugium & portus fidiſſimus eſt· ad quam (patrum noſtrorum memoria & tue gentis & aliarum non contemnendi principes) qui confugere : gratiam cum humanitate reportarunt. Nec enim decet generoſos animos : cum de foedere agitur hoſtilium armorum reminiſci. Si genitor fuit acerrimus Rhodiorum oppugnator : putauit ſue legis decori id conducere. Egit vt hoſtis : nos autem vt hoſti gladios obiecimus. Deus tandem clementiſſimus iuſtiori fauit parti : & victorie angelum rhodijs mittere dignatus eſt. Tu ut hoſpes amicuſque accedis : iura quidem hoſpicij benivolencie ac dilectionis prebeamus decens eſt. bono ac erecto ſis animo: pro virili parte rerum euentui conſulere. quodque tibi & nomini chriſtiano conducat : exequi non paruipendemus quantum & ingenioli : & fortunarum facvltas ſuppeditarit. Romanus quidem pontifex : reges potentatuſque catholici. Qui religionis chriſtiane tenent gubernacula : potentia ſapientia ac propenſiore in R. P. chriſtianorum voluntate perditi ſunt. qui tui aduentus occaſione frui ſcient : te non deſeremus, ſed nos huic cauſe : propicios comperies. Placuitque plurimum tui iuris ſummam intelligere : vt iuſte cauſe inniti videamur. Grateque ſunt oblationes : que non niſi ab animo grato & generoſa mente (que omnem reſpuit ingratitudinis labem) proficiſcuntur. His dictis regeque ſalutato edes reuiſit.

Conſultationes Rhodiorum.

TOTIS diebus frequens ſenatus cogitur : vbi ſapientiſſima conſultatione res agitantur. Placuit tandem principi ac rhodiorum ſenatui : in eam quoque ſententiam cunctorum animi inclinantur ad Romanum pontificem imperatorem reges & principes catholicos : literas dari nunciosque mitti, qui regis Zyzymy ad rhodios confugi-

um

um nuncient: oportunitatemque a Deo oblatam ſignificent. quo. R. P. chriſtianorum: conſuli poſſit. Optimumque viſum eſt: vt profugus princeps ſub tutela magiſtri & rhodiorum equitum ad occiduas migret prouincias. Facto S. C. litere nuntijque expediuntur. Ac nauis oneraria paratur que regulum deuehat. cujus conductores deputantur preſtantes rhodiorum milites: qui kalendas ſeptembris. M.cccc lxxxij. Navim conſcendentes portu feliciter ſoluunt. Ea quoque pompa & ornatu: quo Zyzymy vrbem introiuit. Poſtquam dies duo & quadraginta moram traxiſſet: Rhodo diſceſſit.

Guillelmi Caourſin Rhodiorum viceçancellarij de admiſſione regis Zyzymy in Gallias & diligenti cuſtodia aſſeruatione: exhortatio.

NULLUS eſt orthodoxe fidei tam imbecillis cultor: qui pro virili parte aggredi non debeat quod chriſtiani nominis honori ſalutique conducat. Etſi corporis vires non ſuppetunt: voluntas tamen merito adſit. in qua vera ſolidaque virtus locata eſt. Haud igitur abſonum erit: ſi ab ignauo puſilloque ingenio viro Quedam dicuntur. que fortaſſis: ſapientum illuſtria ingenia & potentum manus excitent. Hinc chriſti zelus diuini nominis amor: in eccleſiam catholicam affectus haud temere mouit. Hinc deflenda orientalis plage labes: immaculatarum animarum lapſus. ſcelerum atrocitas: promere impellit que ingenioli debilitas; balbuciens lingua tremulaque manus edere poſſit. Arduum eſt enim quod aggredimur: egetque precellenti intellectu viro. qui eloquentia ſuaſione atque exhortatione preſtet: & auditores facile moueat. Durum quippe eſt etate noſtra (mundialibus curis implicitis) catholicis perſuadere: vt que noſtri maiores patreſque ex incuria perdidere chriſtiane religioni reintegrentur. Jampridem plerique viri doctrina & dignitate pollentes: operam pariter & induſtriam his in perſuadendis perdidere. Loquutiores quoque habiti ſunt: quo labores & impendia ſubire ſuadent. nec propterea deſiſtere cepto decreui: ſi vel

mihi temeritas aut insania ascribatur. perspicaci quidem sapientissimorum iudicio doctorumque seuero examini editionem submittens: dicendi initium aggrediar. ingeniorum profunditas: quod ex proditis equum redolet libat fastidiatque quod inconcinum absurdum atque in vsum conceperit. Si animo destinauerim iacturas clades strages & ignominias describere: quas christiano nomini mahumetes thurcorum princeps (qui nuper e vita excessit) crudeliter attulit. Nec vires nec tempus: nec dicendi facultas certe suffecerit. Js quippe tyrannus Nerone crudelior. Rege Assuero: potentior. Ac Holopherne est proteruior. Jmperia enim duo: Regna non pauca. validissimasque ditiones: mahumetee legi subegit. Potentissimasque ac preclarissimas vrbes: tributum subire compulit. Jn qua quidem atrociori persequutione scelerum tam immensa colluuies nata est. Vt ea Nec mens excogitare Nec lingua promere Nec Calamus exarare poterit. Que terso grauique stilo plerique doctissimi: toti orbi nota reddidere. vt superfluum fuerit: nunc dicendi latissimum campum ingredi. Presertim: quod in animo est deuotas mentes. attrocitate non afficere: nec obductum vulnus refricare. verum pro ingenioli facultate: ab omnipotenti deo oblatam oportunitatem. Jmperialis Constantinopolitane vrbis sedem: vniuersamque greciam (que europe portio est) subigendi & in christianam potestatem redigendi demonstrare intendimus. modo adsit: qui voluntate sapientia & potestate fruatur. sine quorum fœdere: nullum perfectum proderit opus. Libet enim paulisper mente coniectari: que causa fuerit tantarum cladium enormitas. Quique tam seuus immanis scelestus ac prepotens vir: tam insignes victorias. sit assequutus. Nec id: qui tunc rerum gubernacula tenuerunt: ignauie ascripserim: quam permulti accusare nituntur. Potissimum fuisse iudico: mahumetis illius mirandam inauditamque obedientiam. Cui nec pusillo nec magno in ditione sua degenti: refragari fas fuit. At tremebundi attonitique dicto parentes: vel interitus pericula non formidarunt ut omni studio principi parerent: Nec fuit qui de throno imperij cum eo contenderet. His

quippe

quippe turpiter occiſis: aut veneno enectis, qui thronum conſcendere conarentur: ditionis imperijque monarcha colitur. nec audet aliquis ceruicem erigere: ſed pauidi ad tyranni pedes procumbunt. Hinc oritur inſolentia: hinc potentia: hinc obedientia naſcitur: hinc fines ampliandi cupido inceſſit. & dum longinqui priuatarum rerum ſtudioſi thurco vicini fidei tuitionem credunt: horrida ſanies nos inficit. Eſt profecto othumannorum domus inter mahumeteos illuſtriſſima: tyrannis ſemper referta chriſtianis moleſta & formidoloſa. Atque poſtquam yſthmum aſie minoris (ſub heraclio principe: pipino rege apud gallias regnante) intrauit: grandes iacturas attulit & mahumeteum cultum auxit. Potuit enim parua manu extingui: cum in principatus exordio locata eſt. Sed paruipenderunt: qui enſes ei obicere potuiſſent. Sicque torpentibus animis: pedetentim traiecto heleſponto Europam adijt. in qua haud incelebres ditiones: ſuo adiecit imperio. ad poſtremum quoque etate noſtra: imperialem patriarchalemque ſedem ſue fecit ditionis. Poſt cuius expugnationem: vicinis ac inſulis preſertim rhodiis cruce ſignatis moleſtiſſima habita eſt. quos etiam deuincere extinguere atque proterere: conata eſt. At diuina pietas chriſti veros athletas: a tyrannidis iugo protegit. Cujus repulſe ignominia affectus: draco ille ſceleſtiſſimus mortem obijt atque damnatam euomit animam. O immenſa: dei clementia. O inſcrutabilis: ſapientia. O inuicta: potentia. que mira veteris legis reſiouans: inauditum edidit miraculum. potentiſſimum quidem ditiſſimum atrociſſimumque chriſticolarum perſequutorem: puſillo principatui & cruce ſignatorum cetui ſubicit. Quem quoque validiſſime vrbes triumphatorem conſpexere. clara rhodus: victum preſſum & tandem ignominia repulſe affectum ridet. dignata quidem eſt diuina poteſtas etate noſtra oſtendere: quam vile quam imbecille quam eneruatum ſit thurcorum fetidum nomen. vt chriſtiam norum animos: priſtinis iacturis attonitos erigeret conſolaretur ac ſolidaret: deuotaſque mentes augeret. ad exercitus comparandos. Qui Bizantium & Europam haud indignam ſitus & orbis portionem (mahumetea po:

lutione) liberent. Debuit certe Rhodiorum insignis victoria (diuinis miraculis redimita) fideles animos mouere: ut vniverso fœdere iuncti in nephandum draconem vires instaurarent. At reiecto diuino suasu tabescit humana potestas: nec audit mouentem mundi creatorem. Qui pulsans iterato: haud paulopost terremotibus in Asia & Rhodo editis, crudelem tyrannum Rhodijs minitantem: Jam iamque imminentem, vt exosam sibi vrbem pessundet. Repentina etenim morte occidi permittit. Hinc oritur in asia europaquoque thurcorum tumultus: potentum simultates germanorum nepotumque tyranni dissidia: imperij thronum appetentium. Germanique Bagyazit & Zyzymy: mutuis cladibus sese conficiunt. Que res maxime christianam potentiam excitare potuit, vt vindictam de tyrannica domo sumeret: & ab Europa tyranni iugum excuteret. Dormit etiam latina potentia: nec pulsanti deo creatori aditus patuit. Communeque bonum: priuato affectui algore regens occidua fortitudo: postponit. O quam dura est presens etas: O quam tarda. O quam lenta: minori certo de causa nostri maiores illustria aggressi sunt facinora. & insignem triumphum: quandoque de barbaris fidei hostibus reportarunt. Erat quippe in eis christi sanguis feruentior: qui precordia commouit impulit atque roborauit. Non enim misericors deus cordis ferrea duricia commotus: illustriori occasione christicolarum mentes hortari statuit. Qua permittitur fraternum dissidium diuturnius prestare: ne aut vi aut dolo aut toxico interiret. Noui quidem thurci: qui nunc bisancijs imperat, frater Rex Zyzymy: (omni presidio destitutus) ad Rhodios confugit: ab his quoque qui patri infensissimi fuere. & qui potentiam eius retulerunt: tutamen prestertim implorans. Prestat enim profugo clarissimus Rhodiorum Magister vitam: quem a furore gladij fraterni eripit fouet nutritque suis opibus. Ut superstes frater terrori anxietati atque tremori fratri sit imperitanti. Agendis quoque prudenter consulens principem namque Zyzymy in occidentem misit: ne fratri propinquus imperitanti vim dolos & insidias ejus subiret, felix quippe profugium: quod apertam oportunitatem

tunitatem (Res aggrediendi preclaras) affert. Non eſt enim qui ignoret: quantas clades & ruinas. ciuium diſcordia. affinium diſſidium fraternumque odium: imperiis ac regnis Reipublice attulerit. Sacre quidem gentiliumque litere: huius labis referte ſunt exemplis. Nec enim noſtra etas: horum haud expers cenſetur. Non certe aliter Romanorum R. P. (olim potentiſſima) interijt. Nec ſecus Athenarum ciuitas aratrum paſſa eſt. & Grecorum imperium chriſtum colens: non multos exactos annos hoc affectum malo prorſus occidit. Ait enim: ſapiens quidam. *Concordia parue res creſcunt. Diſcordia: maxime dilabuntur.* Saluator quoque noſter ſumma veritas: id explicans ait. Omne regnum in ſe diuiſum: deſolabitur. Hinc orta eſt (ſtrenuiſſimi thurcorum ducis Achmat Baſie ydronti expugnatoris) nex repentina: cuius tanta fuit inſolentia procacitas & audacia. Ut non niſi aſſiduo cogitatu: ytaliam attingere cupiuerit. Equidem ſuperſtite: numquam erant vicini quieturi. ingenteſque clades: minabatur ſeſe illaturum. Erat profecto animo audaciſſimus manu promptus valido corpore armorumque peritus: qui numquam quieſcere aſſueuerat. Hunc quidem terrore fraterni profugij: Nouus thurcus impulſus dolo necari juſſit. Hinc quoque commilitonum ſatellitumque noui thurci lateri adherentium: conſpiratio tumultuſque naſcitur. Qui ſui principis ſomnolentiam faſtidientes: Regis Zyzymy deſiderio ducuntur. Hinc opum profuſio editur: vt ſibi animos nouus thurcus alliciat. Hinc aſſidua: in Europe portione (que ſibi paret) atque aſia trepidatio. tantaque inquietudine ac terrore thurcus afficitur: vt iamiam germanum imminere adeſſe & aggredi ſeſe putet. Nec vigilijs nec ſomno: aliud cogitat aliud voluit aliudque videt quam Zyzymy Regem. Hinc illud inſigne inauditumque monſtrum natum eſt: ut thurcum non puduerit. quadraginta milia nummum auri Rhodiorum magiſtro triumphatori Petro Daubuſſon mittere. pacto inito: vt germanus attentius (ne ſibi moleſtie terrorique ſit) aſſeruetur. Princeps quidem potentiſſimus terrore fraterno impulſus: Rhodiorum magiſtro tributi conditione ſeſe reddit obnoxium.

noxium. O dei inſcrutabilis: providentia. O inenarrabilis: iuſtitia. O ineffabilis: bonitas. crudeliſſimi quidem tyranni opulentiſſimus potentiſſimus ſuperbiſſimus natus: Rhodiorum principi cruceſignato aureorum pactorum vectigal ſoluit apud quem germanus vitam fouet: quem tanto amore nephandus genitor proſequutus eſt. formidoloſus quippe Bagyazit terrore perculſus ſtatim fœdus cum vicinis percutere non diſtulit. Rhodio que illuſtriori fœdere inſignit: equis quidem conditionibus pactis. Nec audet trepidus Bagyazit: exercitus in chriſtianos parare e aſſem inſtruere enſemque obicere. ne germanus adſit: latinorum manu ſuccinctus. O quam precioſum profugium: O quam illuſtre exilium. O quam inſigne regis Zyzymy confugium quod tantam attulit latinis commoditatem quietem & honorem. Ex quibus certo facile quis viderit (mentis tamen caligine prius abducta) quanta ſit (ab omnipotenti creatore) oblata oportunitas Conſtantinopolim & Greciam recuperandi: latinorumque ditioni redintegrandi. Si modo pronior voluntas. potentiam & ſapientiam ſibi copularit. vtinam adeſſent illi: qui olim tanto animi ardore barbaros peſſundare cogitarunt. quique nulla porrecta oportunitate graui vero difficultate: magna ſunt aggreſſi: aſſequerentur certe nunc quod optarunt. Sic Ludouicus ſanctus Francorum rex: ſic perilluſtres alij principes qui ſepius graui incomoditate: ab illuſtrioribus bellis ſunt retracti. Auſim affirmare. Si parua claſſe Zyzymy vectus adſit. & non numeroſus terreſtris exercitus (qui danubio traiectu) ſeruiam intret: thurcorum potentia europa diſcedet. Si enim minoris aſie fines: profugus rex Zyzymy tetigerit. Repente Bagyazit qui nunc imperat (heleſponto tranſmiſſo) europam terreſtribus chriſtianorum copijs patentem deſeret: vt germano ſe obiciat. Ita haud difficulter: europa mahumetea ſecta liberatur. Sunt enim hec haud obſcura: qui orientem: & thurci fines accolunt ejuſque mores noſcunt. Sed qui longo ſitus tractu a nobis diſtant: nugas fabulaſque commentari nos putant. Quicquid quoque dicimus: queſtus gratia dictum arbitrantur. Sunt quippe auro fulciti:

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ſub deauratis tectis latentes delicatiſque cibis nutriti: qu thurcorum horrida non gnorunt arma. Rerum enim affluentia: non ſinit hec proſpicere Non deſunt quoque inuidi quidam: mordaci dente hec deprauantes & quod mirabilius deteriuſque exiſtit: pacta pecunia cum thurco initoque conſilio. Regem Zyzymy: ſtudioſa attentione toxico enecare conantur. vt ſublata a deo oportunitateque data: nouus thurcus in regni ſolio firmetur. Cogitetque ſtabilis & intrepidus: permagnas vires in chriſtianos exercere. Quas germano ſuperſtite manuque Rhodiorum aſſeruato: ſopitas eſſe neceſſe eſt. O ſcelus: inauditum. O atrox: iniquitas. O deteſtanda: inuidia. horum qui humani hoſtis inuitatione. ſugeſtioneque dyaboli: chriſtianorum rempublicam turbare ſubuertere ac eneruare ſtudent cupiuntque ac expetunt. Nec aduertunt ſeſe primum interituros: & exterminium perpeſſuros. Si Rabidus canis (fratre ſublato) inſoleſcat: animum refocillet vires reſumat mentemque recipiat. Obcecata quidem mens turrita ſuperbia: alterius gloriam videre nequit. veniat in mentem: exterminium ſtrages iacturaque. Quam priſcis illis temporibus: Bothi Uvandali Huni. ſtrenuiſſimi quidem barbari. latino nomini attulerunt. Quod profecto principum tenebroſe illius etatis: ignauia inuidia diſſidioque contigit. Reuoluant hortor hyſtoriarum celebres libros: claraque monimenta & qua rerum qualitate verſamur: compertum habebunt atque conſpicient: quantam deus ſit elargitus gratiam quam pertinaci animo non noſcunt & audire faſtidiunt & queque (in hanc ſententiam) deuota mente prolata: in reprobum interpretantur ſenſum. Has igitur inſidias: prudentiſſimus Rhodiorum magiſter ſubtili ingenio ab emulis excogitatas ſentiens. Arbitratus quoque principem Zyzymy tutius apud gallias defendi cuſtodiri atque protegi. Quibus certe preeſt Rex chriſtianiſſimus: qui catholicam fidem gratia & preſidio (maiorum exemplo) proſequitur. vbi & ſumma ſinceraque viget religio: fideſquoque relucet orthodoxa: vbi monſtra non gignuntur: ubi carent inſidijs ac vbi toxici tabes ignoratur.

ratur. His cauſis ſuaſus in franciam Zyzymy Regem mittit. vt robuſtiſſimis (cruce ſignatis) comitibus ſuccinctus: opido hieroſolimorum in ampliſſimo francorum Regno ſito aſſeruetur. Sed non defuit commentum: quod principem Zyzymy regno interdiceret. nec ei pateret aditus: conſtitutione regia (vti accepimus) refragante. Que Mahumeteos Judeos alienoſque (abſide catholica) viros regno excludit. Heu grauem Sortem: Res vero quidem equa Juſta memoratuque digna. Devoto catholicoque regis chriſtianiſſimi pectori: vt indigna vt abſurda & vt iniqua proponitur nec clariſſimi facinoris circunſtantie qualitates atque modi: ſincere ſunt explicati. Quis enim velit (preſertim hieroſolimorum ordo: qui precipuum erectorem protectorem auctorem francorum regem colit veneratur obſeruat) immaculatum integerrimumque regnum obſcenis moribus inficere? Quis cupit: regie conſtitutioni aduerſari? Quis deſiderat: rem atrocem committere? Nullus profecto ſane mentis: id excogitarit. Non erit quippe in gallijs: Zyzymy ſempiterna mora. Sed ad tempus: quo rebus chriſtianorum conſuli poſſit. non erit cum gallis viris integerrimis & omni immundicie labe puris: Zyzymy commercium. Non erit quidem cum incolis aſſiduitas: non erit cum habitatoribus familiaritas quandoquidem in ſeceſſu concludetur: caſtelli muris cohibebitur paucis comitatus ſatellitibus. Aderuntquippe eius cuſtodie milites rhodij: qui conſtantes eorum prauitatem contemnunt & rident. Non debet quidem Gallia hunc rennuere expellere atque contemnere: cuius aſſeruatione tantum decus tantum comodum & tantum vtile emanare poteſt. Nec dubitamus pijſſimum regem ac ſapientiſſimos doctiſſimoſque ejus regni viros: haud aliter ſentire. Si modo huius principis ſtatum intellexerint. Maior quippe comoditas chriſtianis affertur Zyzymy fouendo protegendo & aſſeruando: quam inclitiſſimo regno arcendo propellendo nec non & excludendo. Nec enim regis conſtitutio: nec conditoris intentio infringitur. vbi tam clarum facinus tam grande emolimentum tamque inſigne monimentum; ex admiſſione

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in regnum oritur. Si autem aditus in franciam Zyzymy denegatur: exultabunt insidiatores toxicorum portitores sicarij nephandique satellites. qui dissimulato habitu iussu thurci: nephandorumque virorum sue factionis passim vagipalantur. vt Zyzymy: vel gladio necent. uel rapiant vel veneno interimant. Excipe excipe nobilissima gallia & rex pijssime virum illustrem: nobilissima mahumeteorum familia natum. Qui tanta comoda: christiane religioni est allaturus. Qui germanum magnum thurcum: christicolarum finibus arcet. Qui fratrem bisanciorum imperatorem: tuoquidem regnicole splendidissimo Rhodiorum magistro submissum reddit. Qui passionis domini nostri iheſu christi monimenta: reliquiasque in Constantinopolitana subversione raptas. & a thurco expugnatore ex industria custoditas heredique nato dimissas: daturum elargiturumque se magistro pollicetur. Qui tantorum scandalorum: extinctio censetur. Qui quietem christiano nomini prebet vide ne eum repellas: qui repulsus scandalo & iacture futurus sit. Si aditum prohibeas: adsunt famelici ac lupi rapaces qui regium iuuenem deuorent lacerent atque opprimant. quo sublato Bagyazit thurcorum rex cornua erigit: Rhodios persequetur. Italie imminebit: hungarosque inuadet. Et qui modo timidus stupidus ac tremebundus. pauet iacet atque latet? repente erumpet insaniaque insolescet: etiam certe animum augebit; sublatusquippe tremor terror ac formido erit. Ex quibus tot grauia tot horrida tot enormia subsequentur: que narrare nemo quidem poterit. Taceo vrbium subuersiones: & iuuenum fidei abnegationem. phanorum polutiones: virginumque prostitutiones. Quorum preterite clades: testimonium perhibent haud incertum. Caue toto orbe dignissima gallia: triumphis ac tropheis priscorum gloria clarissima. Ne tua laudata constitutio: tantorum malorum causa sit. Non fuit profecto legislatoris intentio bonum laudabile ac preclarum edicto excludere: quinimo pessimis viris ac sceleribus regnum purgare. At ubi tantum eminet bonum. in thurci scilicet ad tempus exceptione lex quidem merito atque regia constitutio cedere debet.

debet. Que ſeruata: grande quidem ſcandalum chriſtiano nomini ſit allatura. damnant certe iura diuina pariter & humana iura luxuriam inconceſſoſque concubitus: proſtibula tamen permittuntur: ne maius ſequatur malum: omnia equidem turbentur libidinibus. Moyſeſquoque libellum repudij permiſit: vt homicidium vitetur. duellum quoque conceditur: ſi ex eo publicum ſequatur comodum. Tollerantur plerumque nonnulla quamuis non equa: ne grauius ingruat malum. Qui profecto rei publice preficitur: licitum eſt minora permittere mala ne maiora contingant. At dices facienda non ſunt mala: vt eueniant bona. fateor quidem: ſi de bonis & malis ſpiritalibus intelligas ſuppoſitum. At ſi de temporalibus fiat comparatio: minora ſequi certe mala ratio ſuadet. Rarus quippe & fœnici conferendus qui minimum ſpiritale bonum eligit: vt maximo temporali incomodo afficiatur. Nec prauum ſimpliciter dixerim: Zyzymy excipere regnoque admittere. qui tanta diligentia aſſeruabitur: ne iniquum afferat exemplar. Exceptio namque hec & legis infractio: non quidem malum moris ac ſpiritale cenſetur. nam nec iuri diuino nec iuri communi refragatur. Sed regie conſtitutioni: edictoque prouinciali repugnat. Quare prouinciale malum potius dici poterit. Nec enim omnes chriſticole a ſuis ditionibus: Judeos & ab fide alienos excludunt. Reſpondere profecto conor debilius quam neceſſum ſit: his qui exceptioni regiam conſtitutionem obiciunt. Sed non aduertunt: que (ipſam obſeruando) contingant ſcandala. Ordini preſertim Hieroſolimorum: qui Rhodijs imperat. & Francorum regij dyadematis preſidio: ad hanc noſtram etatem defenſi protectique ſunt. Graviſſimum quidem ſcelus eſt ſcandalum: ex quo ſepenumero nephanda: ſequuntur ſi non cauetur modeſtia. Doctor quidem gentium Paulus apoſtolus Thymoteum circumcidit: ne conuerſis iudeis ſcandalo ſit. Quedam quoque legis moſaice iam ſopite cherimonialia ſequutus traditur ad tempus: vt ſcandalum vitaret. Scandali namque tabes. enormitatum tomes eſt. Sed forſitan quis dicet: fides publica Zyzymy data arcte eius cuſtodie repugnat.

minime

minime quidem : fides namque data Zyzymy regem rhodiorum magiſtro audientem futurum policetur. Conſilioque eius potiturum : nec priuatos appetitus ſequuturum. Exceptus enim non eſt rex Zyzymy : vt chriſtiane religioni aut rhodiorum ſtatui obſit officiat damnumque afferat. Ipſum certe profugum a naufragio a mortis diſcrimine a germani ſanguinolentiſque manibus : precellentiſſimus magiſter eripit ſeruat atque defendit. diſſonum quippe & a ratione prorſus alienum ſi quos fautores & vite tutores ſentit cladem afferat. Terendum quidem tempus & rebus maturius conſulendum : donec etas quietior tranquillior ac feruentior reddatur : Et qui diſſident virtute : fruantur optata. Nulla ſiquidem ex eius cuſtodia oritur pecuniaria vtilitas : quamuis ampla ſit penſio. prodigum eſt ac profuſum id hominum genus : multoque cibo inſignique ſupellectili vtitur. multaſque impenſas eius cuſtodia affert : in educandis qui ſue afferuationi incumbunt. ſui etiam cauſa legationes ad thurcum & eius ad nos ſepius mittuntur : que amplos ſumptus faciunt. Honor quidem comodum vtilitus etiam fidei ac reipublice chriſtianorum : ad ſeruandum iuuenem nos compellit. donec qui cuncta prouidet ex eius alta ſpecula chriſtianorum tepidas mentes inflammet : vt expeditio in fidei hoſtem inſtauretur. Si chriſticole oblatam ſpernent occaſionem : ingratitudinem certe nephandam non feret Deus. luentque penas quandoque : qui conatus qui ſanctum propoſitum : quique res propicias iniquo diſturbant ingenio. Si interierit : aut manus hoſpitalariorum rex Zyzymy (quod Deus auertat) effugerit : tunc liquido patebit : quanto nunc fruimur bono. Quod pauci quidem gnoſcunt : plurimi ignorant. perplures certe : vt iniquum facinus opprimunt damnant & faſtidiunt. Docte ac fidelis lector : tuo qui perſpicaci ingenio de paucis plura conjectare poteris. & pro intellectus acumine diiudicabis : ſi equum ſit regie conſtitutioni inherere ac Zyzymy repellere. vel conſtitutionem rectius interpretando flectere : & Zyzymy admittere & in regnum introducere. Propoſitis quidem duobus :, que mali ſpeciem induere videntur ſecundem ſapientis ſen-

ten-

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